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VOL. XX.

THE NAVAL MISCELLANY

VOL. I.





# The Naval Miscellany

EDITED BY

JOHN KNOX LAUGHTON, M.A., R.N.

HONORARY FELLOW OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE  
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## PREFACE

IN the course of the last few years I have received from different quarters and have collected a variety of documents, individually too short for a volume, and yet of such interest as to render it very desirable to lay them before the Society. In considering how best to do this, the Council resolved that they would from time to time issue a miscellaneous volume of such papers. This is the first. In preparing the several items of it for the press, I have had the able assistance of Mr. Corbett, who, fresh from his studies of Drake and Drake's successors, took charge of the 'Voyage to Cadiz,' which, by itself, with its unique map and representations of early divisional flags, would make the volume noteworthy. For the editing of the other papers I am personally responsible, though I have unsparingly taxed the assistance of many friends to whom I have referred points of difficulty. To them and to the owners of the papers I return my warmest thanks for the gift—not to me, but to the Society, and through it to the country.





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# BOOK OF WAR

BY

SEA AND LAND

ANNO 1543

BY

JEHAN BYTHARNE

B



## INTRODUCTORY.

SOME few months before his lamented death, our colleague, Alfred Spont, gave me the following extract from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, suggesting that it might be of interest to the Society, and, at the same time, promising his assistance in editing and translating it. *Dis aliter visum est*; but his place has been most kindly filled by M. Charles Bémont, who has not only undertaken the laborious task of collating the proof slips with the original MS., and has given me many notes as to the translation, but has also called to my assistance M. Charles de la Roncière, who has favoured me with some valuable suggestions, often intangible, which, when they have taken form in my notes, I have distinguished by the initial letter (R); those supplied by M. Bémont are distinguished by the letter (B); those which I already had, by the letter (S).

The tract, itself, is an early sixteenth-century account of the decorations of a ship of war, and of the signals then in use in the French navy. How far these were peculiar to France does not appear. I think there is a fair presumption that what was known in France was known in England, and that in the English navy similar signals were in use. As to their origin, it is impossible to speak with certainty. So much of western seamanship came from the Mediterranean that we might naturally suspect that these also came out of the Levant or the Adriatic. But, on the other hand, the earliest known codes of signals, French and English, of about 1340<sup>1</sup>—signals which Sir Travers Twiss thought were probably given out for the guidance of the fleets that fought at Sluys—are extremely primitive in comparison with that here given. The de-

<sup>1</sup> *Black Book of the Admiralty*, i. 16 sq., 426 sq.

velopment in the course of the two centuries was so great that it prompts me to conjecture that the origin, as the development, is quite as much western as eastern. M. de la Roncière has noted<sup>1</sup> that Bytharne's work is almost verbally the same as that of Philippe de Clèves, 'Briefve instruction de toutes manières de guerroyer,' which, though not printed till 1558, was written early in the century.

This opens a wide field for speculation. It does not appear that Philippe de Clèves had any large experience at sea, though in 1502 he commanded the fleet in the expedition to Mitylene. In this fleet there were several sailing ships, among others the Cordelière, which came into our history in 1512, when she was burnt off Brest.<sup>2</sup> It was presumably this experience which led the Duke of Clèves to undertake—or perhaps it would be more correct to say to order—the compilation of the 'Short Instruction,' as an embodiment of the practice, theory, and traditions of sea service. The fleet was a reunion of West and East, Ocean and Mediterranean. It may thus very well be that the resulting work was of relatively wide scope, and became the quarry for all future writers, who had no more scruple than the mediæval chroniclers in appropriating, without acknowledgment, the very words in which a predecessor had said what they wanted to say. Antoine de Conflans, who commanded the ship *Rose* in 1512,<sup>3</sup> wrote a tract, largely based on Philippe's,<sup>4</sup> parts of which were published by Jal in the '*Annales Maritimes*.'<sup>5</sup> This work of Bytharne's followed, written on the eve of the war with England, and probably with an eye to the special conditions. In 1563 a second edition of Philippe's work was published, under the name of George Vivien, but who George Vivien was, or whether he had any claim to be the author, I have not been able to discover. Similarly, I have not been able to learn anything of Bytharne beyond what little he himself tells us in the title. His work has not

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de la Marine Française*, ii. 492, 501.

<sup>2</sup> Spont, *War with France, 1512-13* (N.R.S. vol. x.), p. xxvi and note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Les faiz de la marine et navigaiges*, Roncière, ii. 503.

<sup>5</sup> 1842, II. ii. 36 sq.

been printed, and I have not had an opportunity of seeing the original. I have been equally unfortunate with regard to Philippe's book, neither edition of which is in the British Museum or in any other library to which I have had access.

There is yet another work of some practical significance, which must have been virtually, if not absolutely, a copy of certain paragraphs of Philippe's. This is the body of instructions and signals given out in 1517<sup>1</sup> by the Emperor Charles V., on his first voyage from Flanders to Spain 'in consultation with the lords of his Council and all the pilots.' The signals themselves and the instructions concerning them are often identical, so much so that Captain Duro's version of those of 1517 has been of great assistance in interpreting the very crabbed French of 1543. Unfortunately we have not the original of 1517, nor does it appear in what language the original was written. Captain Duro's translation is from a French version, which, again, must be a translation of either a Dutch or Spanish original. More than that it seems, at present, impossible to say.

<sup>1</sup> C. Fernandez Duro, *Armada Española*, i. 362-4.





# BOOK OF WAR

Book of War by Sea and by Land. By

*This volume—THE NAVAL MISCELLANY, VOL. I.—announced for last year, has been unavoidably delayed, and is now issued on the 1901 subscription.*

Price, 100 2.

mer en notre obeissance, seront tenus de porter les bannières ou enseignes de l'amiral [de France], lequel pourra mettre bannières, étendards ou enseignes, trompettes et ménétriers à son plaisir.' The arms of Annebaut, Admiral of France at this time, whom Bytharne was presumably addressing, were gules, a cross vair; or more correctly gules, on a cross argent twelve pieces of vair affronted (Terron, *Hist. des Connestables de France*, p. 16). It follows that at this date ensigns, pennons, streamers, and pavesades were red, white, and blue, not as national colours, but as the colours of the admiral (Bouillé, *Les Drapeaux Français*, p. 221).

the after-castle, as splendidly as may be. And all the shields round the upper part of the castles—as well the fore-castle as the after-castle—ought to be emblazoned with your arms and devices. And above the fore-castle, on a staff inclining forwards, you ought to have a pennon of your colours and devices; as also at the two corners of the castle. Amidships<sup>1</sup> there ought to be two square banners emblazoned with your arms. On the after-castle, high above the rudder, you ought to have a large square banner, larger than any of the others. And on each side of this castle, as you face towards the mast, there ought to be five or six square banners, not so large as that above the rudder, which I have just spoken of, all emblazoned with your arms, quarters, and devices. All round the main top—*videlicet*, of the main mast—you ought to have top-armour<sup>3</sup> of the full depth of the top, and emblazoned

devant et chasteaul derrière, le plus goursiement<sup>1</sup> que faire ce pourra. Et tous les pavez qui fault au dessus de vous chasteaux devant que derrière doibvent estre tout armoyé de vous armes et de vous devises. Et dessus le chasteaul devant devez avoir ung penon tout devant fait de vous couleurs et devises, lequel en doibt pendre en devant et sur les deulx coings dudit chasteau. En revenant vers la belle<sup>2</sup> de la nef, doibt avoir deulx bannières quarées armoïées de vous armes. Sur le chasteau de derrière tout hault au dessus du gouvernail, devez avoir ungne grande banière quarée plus grande que nulle des aultres. Et à chacun costez dudit chasteau en tirant vers le matz doibt avoir 5 ou 6 bannières quarées non pas sy grandes que celles que j'ay cy devant dit du gouvernail armoyé de vous armes, de voz quartiers ou de voz devises. Sur la grande hune du grandt matz devez avoir tout à l'entour une mormonture<sup>3</sup> de la

<sup>1</sup> *Sc. gorsiasement* (S).

<sup>2</sup> Belle, or baile = waist.

<sup>3</sup> Mormonture = garniture (R). Jal (*op. cit.* p. 43) conjectures that the word, which he prints 'marmocture,' means 'une étoffe

with your arms: and from it there must fly a broad swallow-tailed standard, of such length as to reach to the water, and similarly emblazoned with your arms and devices. And on the mast of that top (main topmast) there ought to be a square banner emblazoned with your arms. And no one is permitted to carry such a banner on the main topmast except you; for it is by it that you are recognised by day. Likewise on the fore-mast there ought to be a top, with top-armour all round, like to that of the main top. And above there ought to be a pennon, like to the great standard, but not nearly so long.

Some there are who hang a great number of small banners or pennons from the main-stay<sup>1</sup> or from the fore-stay, as also from the main mizen-

largeur de la profondeur de ladite hune toute armoïée de voz armes et ung grandt estandaert fendu et large qui soit sy long qu'il viengne jusques à la mer tout pareillement armoïée de voz armes et de vous devises. Et sur le matz de la dite hune debvez avoir ungne banière quarée armoyée de voz armes. Et nul ne peult porter icelle banière sur le dit petit matz de la grande hune que vous, car c'est à cela que on vous congnoit de jour. Aussy pareillement sur le matz du chasteau devant doit avoir ungne hune, la mormonture d'icelle tout allentour pareille à celle de la grande hune. Et doit avoir ung penon dessus, pareil au grant estandart, mais non point sy long à beaucoup près.

Auchuentz gents mettent ung grant tas de petites banieres ou penonseaux pendant au grant tanble<sup>1</sup> qui vient de la hune au chasteau devant, et aultre aussy cely qui va de la petite hune du chasteau devant au devant du navire aussy pareillement au cable qui tient le matz de la

marbrée ou moirée,' and thus 'une espèce de banière faite d'une étoffe moirée.' The context here does not lend itself to this view.

<sup>1</sup> Tanble = cable (R).

stay ;<sup>1</sup> likewise from both sides of the vessel in the waist, according to their pleasure.

And for celebrating a triumph, your ship ought to be covered in and curtained with rich cloth ; and the same on the two sides, as low down as the guns ; and within board, below the deck, it should also be draped and canopied, so that the beams cannot be seen ; and underfoot there should be a thick carpet, as in a room on shore ; and the after-castle should be richly draped, as also the fore-castle, but not so richly. You may also paint your sails with such devices and colours as you choose, or with the representation of a saint,<sup>2</sup> if you prefer it. And in my opinion, Sir, your ship will thus be prepared in the best possible manner, whether for the campaign or for actual battle.

grande mysaine<sup>1</sup> de derrière ; et aussy sur la belle de la nef aux deux costez on en met que veult.

Et quant ce vient à ung triumphe, votre nef doit estre toute promptée et toute couverte de tapisserie et pareillement aux deulx costez venant sy bas que jusques à l'artillerie. Et par dedans et desoubz ledit pont doit estre encore tendue affin que on ne voye point les bancs dudit pont et devez la avoir vostre dosseret tout tendu comme sy vous esties en ungne salle bien tapissée par bas de tapis velu ; et doit estre vostre chasteau devant aussy bien tendu de tapisserie que celluy de derrière mais non point sy richement. Aussy vous pavez faire poincde vous voilles de teilles devisez et coulleurs que vous vouldres ou de quelque devotion<sup>2</sup> se vous voulez faire. Il me semble, Monseigneur, que je ne vous scauroye meulx accoustrer nef que ainsy que je vous ay dit en dessus, tant pour combatre que pour la guerre.

<sup>1</sup> According to Jal, *Glossaire Nautique*, s.v. 'Artimon,' 'misaine' was the mizen in French till towards the end of the fifteenth century. We have here a clear instance of its being used in that sense in the middle of the sixteenth.

<sup>2</sup> Devotion = image sainte (B).

Here following I set down for you the signals which I myself have seen used at sea.

First, when you shall wish to assemble the captains of your ships, to hold a council or to speak with them, if the weather permit, you will put on the main mizen a square banner tied in a weft;<sup>1</sup> on which all the captains will hoist out their boats and come on board you, and bring with them their best pilot and their most experienced officer, to the end that you may have the best counsel on those points as to which you desire to be informed.

Further, every ship that shall espy other strange ships at sea shall forthwith put a square banner in a weft, in the shrouds, half-way up,<sup>2</sup> on that side on which the strange ships are; to the intent that each one may also see and regard them; and if there

[Ibid. ff. 101-4.]

Et cy après je vous veul mettre les signalz que j'ay veu faire, moy estant en la meer. . . .

Premièrement, quant vous vouldrez assambler tous les cappitaines de vos navieres pour avoir quelque conseil ou parler à eulx si le tamps le peult porter, debvez mettre sur le mast de la grande misaine ungne bannière quarée à demy clouée.<sup>1</sup> Et alors seront tenuz lesdits cappitaines de mettre les bacques ou bois de leurs nefz hors bort et venir vers vous, et mener le meilleur pillotz que ayent et le plus saige personnaige que chacun avera avecq soy pour avoir meilleur conseil des choses qui vous plaira leur demander.

Encore, que chacun naviere que plus tost verra aultres navieres estrangiers en meer, mettera à moitié chemin des haultbans, du costé duquel il le verra, ungne bannière à moitié pendant,<sup>2</sup> affin que ung chacun y ait l'œil et y avoir regart,

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish here has 'medio desplegada.' 'Clouée' seems to be an adaptation of the English 'clewed up;' but no dictionary that I have been able to consult admits such a meaning. 'Philippe de Clèves has "clinée"' (B).

<sup>2</sup> 'Una bandera en la mitad de la altura de los obenques, en la banda.'

shall be a great number of strange ships, she will put abroad two banners, one above the other.

Further, if these signals are made by one of the two ships which are in advance of the fleet, and your desire is that the said ships shall chase, or look out further ahead in order to gain intelligence, you will put abroad a banner on your fore mast, inclining it forward ; and by this they shall know that it is your pleasure that they should endeavour to go on ahead, and that no other ship besides them should do so.

Further, if it is your pleasure that all the ships chase and do their endeavour to come up with the strangers, you will put abroad a square banner between the main-top and the small square banner which is on the main top-mast, the staff inclining forward ; and then every one will know that you desire them to chase and to do their endeavour.

Likewise the first ship which shall see land by

et s'il veioient grande nombre de nefz, y metteroient deulx bannières, l'une plus haulte que l'autre.

Encore, se les dessus dites deulx navieres qui vont devant l'ung des signalz de dessus, et qui vous plaise que lesdits navieres chassent ou voyent plus avant pour sçavoir des nouvelles, vous mettrez ungne bannière sur vostre mast du chasteau devant pendant en devant,<sup>1</sup> et par ce congnoistront qu'il vous plaist qu'il facent leurs efforts d'aller avant et que nulz ne voyse que eulx.

Encore, s'il vous plaist que toutes navieres chassent et facent leur effort, mettrez ungne bannière carée entre la grande hune et la plus petite bannière quarée qui est sur le petit mast de ladite hune, pendant en devant, et alors chacun congnoistra que vollez qu'ilz chassent et facent leur effort.

Et aussy, la première naviere qui verra terre de jour, de

<sup>1</sup> Pointing ahead. The Spanish has 'una bandera en el mástil del castillo de proa, inclinada hacia adelante.'

day will put abroad a square banner at the main-top, on that side on which the land is, inclining the staff to the end that each one may see it and may know what they have to do.

Item, if by any mischance a ship is in danger of bilging herself, or of running aground on any shoal or rock, or in any other possible danger, she will fire three guns in quick succession, and will send a man to the main-top with a flag, which he will swing several times quite round,<sup>5</sup> as a signal that she has need of succour. And this is to be done when the ship is in danger, and not otherwise.

Further, when night is coming on, towards sunset, if the weather permits it, all the ships shall come together to make their reverence ; and passing ahead of you, they shall each shout three times, one after

la costé où il la verra mettera ungne bannière quarrée sur la grande hune enclynant<sup>1</sup> affin que chacun y regarde, et qu'ils sçachent qu'il aront affaire.

Item, sy leur naviere est en dangier de soy ouvrir par quelque mauvaise aventure, ou de la donner en terre sur quelque ban ou roche, ou en quelque aultre dangier où elle se peult trouver, tyrera troys coups de canon l'un après l'autre, tous routiers,<sup>2</sup> et aura ung homme sur la grande hune, lequel tourpira<sup>3</sup> à l'entour atout<sup>4</sup> ungne bannière par plusieurs fois<sup>5</sup> en signal qu'il aura mestier de secours. Et ce fera quant il est en dangier, et non aultrement.

Aussy, quant viendra la nuyt, environ soleil couchant, se le tamps en peult porter, tous les navieres seront tenuz de venir faire la révérenche et par dessus par devant vous en gectant troys crys l'ung après l'autre, tous ceulx de la

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish here is 'inclinándola hacia la parte donde la ve ;' which implies that the staff is used as a pointer.

<sup>2</sup> Routier : consécutive, continu, successif (Godefroy).

<sup>3</sup> Sc. tournera (S).

<sup>4</sup> Atout = avec.

<sup>5</sup> 'Con una bandera que hará girar alreredor varias veces.' The flag is on a staff. A very primitive form of 'flag-wagging.'



the other ; and if they have trumpets or other instruments they shall cause sound them. And at the third shout the master of your ship shall return their salute, causing all those of your ship to shout, and the trumpets and drums, if you have any, to sound. And each one, as he makes his salute, ought to ask the word for the night and also what courses you will keep ; to which the master of your ship will answer and give him the watch-word and the courses for the night. And each ship ought to do the same, and be answered in the same manner. And after the several ships shall have thus done, they shall drop astern of you, and during the night are not to pass ahead of you, on pain of severe punishment to those captains who do the contrary, unless compelled by some stress or mischance. And even the two little ships which have been ahead ought to fall astern of you, and keep astern, as the others.

nef ensamble, et s'ils ont trompettes ou aultres instruments, seront tenuz de les faire juer. Et aux 3<sup>e</sup> crys que cryeront, vostre maistre de naviere est tenu de faire aussy ung cry en leur rendant ung salut avecq tous ceulx de vostre nef, et faire sonner vous trompettes et tamburins si vous en avez. Et doibt demander celluy qui vous fera la révérenche le cry de la nuyt, et aussy que<sup>1</sup> routes vous volez tenir. A quoy vostre maistre de naviere doibt respondre et luy doibt cryer le nom du guaeitz<sup>2</sup> et les routes que vous volez tenir. Et chacun naviere vous doibt faire autant, et pareillement le debvez respondre comme dessus. En après que lesdits navieres averont fait tout leur debvoir, se doibvent retirer derrière vostre naviere, et pour la nuyt ne doibvent point passer devant vous, sur grande punicion que debvez faire aux cappitaines et chiefs qui feront le contraire, se fortune ne les contrainct à le fere. Et mesmement les deux petites navieres qui sont devant doibvent retirer derrière vous, et ne vous doibvent non plus passer que les aultres.

<sup>1</sup> Sc. que = quelles.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. guet (S).

When these things have been done you ought to cause sing the evening hymn<sup>1</sup> to our Lady before her image, and put out all the lights in your ship, except those in the cabins of the gentlemen, who may have lamps trimmed with water covered with oil, but neither candles nor any other kind of light, by reason of the danger which may arise from them. And to this end you ought to appoint persons to look to it and see that all retire betimes, alike officers and soldiers, who are not engaged in the conduct of the ship or in your personal service. And at the stern of your ship you ought to hang out a flaming cresset,<sup>2</sup> so that every one may know you and follow you. And none other than your ship is to carry such a fire; and after that time no ship may show a light to any other, for the sake of recognition, by

Après toutes ces chosez faictes, debvez faire chanter le *Salut*<sup>1</sup> en vostre naviere devant l'ymage Nostre Dame, et faire estaindre tous les feux qui sont en vostre naviere, réservé les gens de bien qui pourront avoir en leurs chambres ès dits navieres, lesquelz pourront avoir lampes moitié plein d'eau et huille dessus pour les allumer, et non chandelles ne aultre luminaire, pour le dangier qui en peult advenir. Et debvez avoir pour ce faire gents qui y ayent bien l'œil, et faire retirer tous les compaignons et gents de guerre qui ne sont point à la conduyte de la nef, réservé aulcuens que poulront retenir pour vostre pasetamps. Et devetz mettre par derrière hors de vostre naviere ung fallot<sup>2</sup> atout du feu, affin que de nuyt chacun vous suyve et vous puisse congnoistre. Et ne doit nul porter feu que vous, et de la en avant nul ne peult ne doit à nul desdits navieres monstrier

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. H. Marchant, S.J., has favoured me with the following: *Salut* meant evening greeting or salutation of our Lady. There was no fixed hymn; it might vary with the season, or at choice.

<sup>2</sup> So Cotgrave. More usually 'fallot' = lanterne, but the context here shows that something of the nature of a cage carrying flaming combustibles is meant.

reason of the confusion which it might cause in respect of such signals as should be ordered.

However, if you have a vice-admiral, I have heard say that he should carry a fire as well as you ; but in that case he should carry only one and you ought to carry two. But I myself have never been in company with a vice-admiral, so that I write merely what I have heard say. But in your absence the vice-admiral ought to carry the fire, and no one else, he being then the chief for the time being. However, Sir, it is your right, even when the vice-admiral is with you, to appoint a lieutenant at your good pleasure ; but to do so is contrary to custom. And furthermore, the vice-admiral ought to carry a square banner on the fore topmast ; and none other than he ought to carry one.

Likewise it is necessary to have in a ship a large lantern, in which there are three or four great lamps, with great lights to make great illumination ; for

feu ne chandelles que l'on puisse congnoistre pour l'abusion <sup>1</sup> que il poulroit estre des signals qui pourroient estre bailliés.

Toutesfois, sy vous avez admyral, j'ay entendu que doit porter feu comme vous ; mais en ce cas il n'en porteroit que ung et vous y debvries porter deulx. Je n'ay point esté en lieu là où j'ay veu admiral, par quoy je ne la vous dis que par ouyr dire. Mais quant ne serres point, il le devroit porter, et non aultre, seul, comme lieutenant et admiral, car là où il est par la meer, il doit estre le chief, puisque vous n'y estes en personne. Toutesfois, Monseigneur, il est bien en vous, prenez que l'amiral y soit, d'ordonner lieutenant à vostre bon plaisir, mais de coutume ne se fait point. Et doit aussy ledit amiral porter sur le petit mast qui est sur la hune du chasteau devant ungne bannière quarée, et nul luy le doit porter que luy.

Aussy il vous est besoing d'avoir en ungne naviere ungne grande lanterne, où il y ait trois ou quatres grosses lampes à tous grosses lumières pour faire grosses lumillions ; <sup>2</sup> car

<sup>1</sup> Sc. confusion (S).

<sup>2</sup> Sc. lumignons (S).

when it is blowing hard and the wind comes astern it will be necessary to put the said lantern in place of the other fire ; for otherwise the ship would be in frequent danger of being burnt.

As to the manner in which you ought to sail by night, it is necessary for me to explain to you the signals which may be made by night.

And first : If any ship, being nearer the land than any other, shall first espy it, she will hang a lantern on the fore mast, and will fire two guns and no more.

Likewise if a ship runs aground, or is in any danger and has need of assistance, she will fire three guns, and will hang lanterns on the shrouds of the main mast, one on each side, half-way down from the top ; and then all possible assistance is to be given to her.

Likewise, if it chance that there comes by night

quant il fait grant vent et que le vent vient par derrière, forche vous seroit de mettre ladite lanterne en lieu de l'aulture feu, car aultrement souvent la dite naviere seroit en dangier de brusler.

Monseigneur, de la facion comment de nuyt vous debvez aller par la meer, et fault que je vous mects les signaeltz que de nuyt pourra avoir avecq le dit naviere.

Et 1<sup>o</sup>, se quelque naviere apperchoit terre, de cy près qu'elle la puisse appercevoir plus tost que nul aulture, pendra ungne lanterne au mast du chasteau de devant et tirera deux [coups] de canon seulement.

Aussy, si ungne naviere donne terre, ou ayt quelque dangier et que ayt mestier d'ayde, tyrera trois coups de canon et pendra à chacun costé des haultbans de son grand mast, à moitié chemin de la hune, une lanterne, et alors sera tenu de la secourir à son pouvoir.

Aussy, s'il advenoit que quelque naviere estraungiers

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any strange ship into the fleet, and by her build it is certainly known or suspected that she is a stranger or an enemy, the first who espies her shall fire one single gun, and put out a lantern in the waist on the side nearest the stranger.

And if there shall come a large fleet of ships, which are not recognised and are suspected to be enemies, those who see them will fire four or five guns in succession, and will put one lantern on the after-castle, and one on the fore-castle, and one on the shrouds of the main mast, on the side nearest the strangers.

Further, if you wish that your ships should draw nigh to you, you will fire one gun, and put two lanterns on the two corners of the after-castle, as high

veinssent de nuyt entre eulx et qu'ils congneussent tant par la naviere que par suspicion qu'elles feussent estrangiers ou ennemys, le 1<sup>er</sup> qui s'en aperchevra tirera ung coup de canon tant seulement,<sup>1</sup> et mettera une lanterne sur la belle de la nef du costé de la où elle sera.

Et s'il y venoit quelque grosse vlote de navieres qu'ils ne congneussent point et cuydassent que ce feussent ennemys, tyreront quatre ou chincq coups de canon de route,<sup>2</sup> et mettront ungne lanterne sur le chasteau de derrière, et ungne sur le chasteau de devant et ungne en haultban du grant mast, et tant du costé où les navires seront.

D'autre part, se vous voulez que vous ennemys<sup>3</sup> s'aprouchent de vous, que vous tirerez ung coup de canon et mettrez deulx lanternes sur les deulx coings du chasteau derrière, au

<sup>1</sup> Tant seulement : seulement (Godefroy).

<sup>2</sup> De route : de suite, à la suite, à la file (Godefroy).

<sup>3</sup> *Sic*, pour 'navires' (S). 'Au lieu de : "se vous voulez," il faudrait mettre : "si vous voyez ;" mais il y a bien "voulez"' (B). Captain Duro's version, though of a somewhat different signification, seems to determine it in favour of 'navires.' It runs : 'Quando el Rey quiera que los navios envíen embarcacion al suyo de noche, disparará una pieza y pondrá dos linternas en los dos ángulos del castillo de popa, en lo más alto, y otra en el palo de messana.'

as possible, and one on the main mizen mast ; and then all your ships shall be bound to close with you, as near as possible.

And, Sir, it is necessary that you give a written copy of these orders for the conduct of your ships by day and by night to each one of the captains, to the end that when they see any signal they may look what it means ; for if they have it not in writing they may forget it or be ignorant of it ; but by so giving it to them they have no excuse, and if they blunder, ought to be punished severely.

This then ought to be the manner of sailing by night ; and at the break of day your two nimble ships ought to come and salute you, in the same manner as I have already said they ought to do at nightfall ; and you should return their salute in the same manner as on the preceding night ; and they

plus hault, et ungne sur le mast de la grande misaine, et lors seront tenus voz navieres de approcher de vous le plus qu'ils pourront.

Monseigneur, il est besoing que vous bailliez par escript toute ceste ordonnance tant de jour que de la nuit à chacun des capitaines de voz navieres, affin, quant il verront quelque signal, s'il regardent<sup>1</sup> quel chose il veullent diere ; car, sans les avoir par escript, il les pourroient oublier ou ignorer ; et, en leur baillant, il n'y a point d'excuse ; et, s'il y a faulte, en debvez faire grant pugnicion.

Aussy vous debvez cheminer la nuyt comme je vous l'ay dit dessus ; et quant ce vient au point du jour, vos deulx navieres légers vous doibvent venir faire la révérenche, comme j'ay dit devant qu'ilz doibvent faire la nuyt, et leur debvez rendre le salut comme la nuyt précédente, et vous doibvent demander s'il vous plaist

<sup>1</sup> Sc. qu'ils regardent (B).

ought to ask you if you have any orders for them, and should then make all possible sail to go well ahead of you, without, however, losing sight of you.

And this having been done, at sunrise or thereabouts, your trumpets should sound a fanfare ; and your drums and such other instruments as you have should then play ; and you should keep under easy sail until all your ships have saluted you as they did the night before ; and you ought to return the salute in the same way ; and after that they may draw off from you a little, either ahead or astern, or on one side of you, but so as not to lose sight of you or be unable to make out your signals.

Further, before you depart from any haven, you ought to determine whither you intend to go, and to appoint for your captains a place where they will have word of you, if by any tempest or foul weather they shall be forced to separate from you. And if they should chance to arrive there before you, they are to wait there for news concerning you ; and all are riens, et doibvent faire le plus grande voile qu'ilz pourront pour aler devant et vous esloingner, sans toutesfois perdre la veue de vous.

Après ce fait, à soleil levant ou la entour, doibvent voz trompettes sonner ungne baterye et doibvent aussy jouer voz tambourins après, et pareillement aultres instrumens sy vous en avez, et debvez faire petis voillez tant que tous voz aultres navieres vous ayent fait révérenche comme ilz ont fait la nuit de devant, et leur debvez samblablement rendre le salut. Et après ce se peuvent bien eslongner de vous ung peu ou devant, ou derrière, ou de costez, mais qu'ilz ne vous perdent point de veue, et qu'ilz puissent congnoistre les signalz que leur ferez.

Aussy devant que partez d'ung port, vous debvez conclure là où vous avez intention d'aller, et diere à vous cappitaines ung lieu la où ilz auroient nouvelles de vous sy quelque tourmente ou tempeste sourvenoit par laquelle vous fut forche de séparer, et s'ilz estoient la arivé devant vous qu'ilz attendissent là nouvelles de vous et que tout missent

to endeavour to meet there, that being the place to which you will come, or to which you will send to seek for them, and to give them your orders.

Further, Sir, at such hour of the morning as shall please you, you will cause your chaplain to say a dry mass,<sup>1</sup> to the end that every one may hear it and make their devotions.

And thus, Sir, in what relates to the order of battle and of sailing, you have the sum of all that I know or am able to recollect.

payne d'eulx la ressambler, et que la seroit le lieu la où vous le viendrez chercher ou que vous enverriez pour les quérir et pour leur demander vostre voulenté.

Aussy, Monseigneur, à quel heure qui vous plaira du matin, devez faire dire une messe sèche<sup>1</sup> par vostre chappelain, affin que chacun le puisse ouyr et dire tous dévotions. Et vela, Monseigneur, ce que me samble du combat et a l'ordre que devez tenir par la meer, et en tout ce que j'ay sceu et que j'ay peu retenir, dont j'ai souvenance.

<sup>1</sup> ‘ “Une messe sèche,” dite aussi “messe navale” et “messe des chasseurs,” est la récitation des prières de la messe qui n'est pas accompagnée de la consécration. Elle était usitée dans le moyen âge, et particulièrement en mer, de peur que le mouvement du navire ne fit répandre le sang consacré.’—*Dictionnaire des Dictionnaires* (note by the Rev. H. Marchant, S.J.)





RELATION  
OF THE  
VOYAGE TO CADIZ  
1596

BY  
SIR WILLIAM SLYNGISBIE

EDITED BY  
JULIAN S. CORBETT, LL.M.



## INTRODUCTION

THE manuscript printed below, for the use of which the Society is indebted to his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, is preserved at Alnwick Castle amongst the priceless collection of papers calendared in the Third Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. It is a small folio volume bound in vellum, and written on paper in a neat and scholarly hand, showing signs of Italian influence. On the cover is inscribed in a later hand, 'Sir Will. Slyngsby's relation of my Lord of Essex voyage to Cales.'

A number of similar narratives exist; for, owing to the partial failure of the expedition and the political relations of the chief flag-officers, each of them appears to have been nervously anxious to publish his own version of the campaign. In Birch's 'Memoirs of Elizabeth' will be found a diverting account of how the agents of the various commanders raced and jockeyed each other on the road to London in order to be the first to get at the press, and of how cleverly Sir Robert Cecil censored them all, and published an official version of his own editing, based on a despatch of the Lord Admiral's. Several of these suppressed narratives subsequently got into print in a more or less accurate form. The only manuscripts that appear to have

entirely escaped are the present one, three in the British Museum (*Sloane* 1303, i. ; *Harleian* 167 ; and *Stowe* 164, f. 90), and one in the Lambeth Palace Library (MS. No. 250), which is the fullest and most detailed of them all. The chief bone of contention was the comparative merits of Essex and of Raleigh, and closely related to their personal rivalry was the antagonism between the soldiers and the sailors, or the 'land faction' and the 'sea faction,' as they were spoken of at the time. The credibility of all the accounts therefore must first be measured by the test of whether they were written by a partisan of one or the other of the two leading spirits or in the interest of the army or the navy.

The present narrative, as will appear below, was composed by an officer who sailed in Raleigh's squadron and was on the staff of Sir George Carew, almost the only influential friend Raleigh had left. Carew himself was so enthusiastic about Raleigh's behaviour in Cadiz harbour as to write to Sir Robert Cecil saying that he had made friends of all his enemies ; for that which he did in the sea service could not be bettered.<sup>1</sup> A writer so much under the influence of Carew as Slingsby can be shown to have been must naturally be watched for signs of partiality for Raleigh ; but, at the same time, though not a professional soldier himself, he was attached to the staff of a soldier, and the result of the two conflicting influences is a remarkably impartial narrative by a man who seems to have kept himself clear of committal to either party.<sup>2</sup>

The peculiar interest of the present version is

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MS.* 6177, f. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Further particulars of the various 'relations' may be found in the Appendix to the *Successors of Drake* (Longmans, 1900). An account there omitted is mentioned in the Report on the Maryon-Wilson Papers (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v. p. 304). It is stated to have been printed 'not quite correctly' in a magazine called *Long Ago*, 1873.

the diagram of the squadronal flags which it contains and the engraved chart which is bound up with it.

Neither the chart nor the accompanying explanation appears to have had originally any connection with Slingsby's manuscript. The chart, which has been somewhat clumsily hand-coloured in the manner of the time, is printed upon two sheets of paper pasted together. The whole in its present condition measures  $14\frac{3}{8}$  in. by  $23\frac{7}{8}$  in., but it is unfortunately incomplete. From the size of the individual sheets and the wording of Note II. it appears that about an inch has been cut from the left-hand margin. From the top about three or four inches must be wanting; for of the central decorative compartment, which probably contained in the customary fashion an achievement of the royal arms, only the lower edge of the frame remains. The missing portion also contained the group of galleys (marked HH) escaping under sail. They have been cut out and pasted in their present position. They must originally have been drawn immediately over the scale compartment, for a portion of the ornament which probably surmounted it, as we may infer from the style of what remains, can still be seen partly obscuring the central galley.

Neither the original draft of the chart nor any other copy of the engraving is known to exist, and it is therefore difficult to say anything definite as to its origin and purpose. Of the designer, Baptista Boazio, nothing has been discovered beyond the fact that he executed for Essex in the following year a similar chart of the Azores campaign, which has been discovered by Mr. Oppenheim in the British Museum, and is to be reproduced by the Society. In the margin of the printed explanation to the Cadiz chart it is stated to have been prepared

'by the command of the lord generals,' that is, Howard and Essex, the joint commanders of the expedition. We may assume therefore that Boazio was an Italian expert who was appointed official cartographer to the expedition with the intention that he should produce a chart to illustrate an account of it, which the generals meant to have published had the censorship not been so rigidly applied.

The engraver, Thomas Cockson or Coxon, though by no means a first-rate craftsman, was a man of some note. The present chart is his second known work. The first, produced in 1591, was the elaborately decorated title-page of Sir John Harrington's '*Orlando Furioso*,' and it is remarkable as having been the earliest instance of such a piece of work signed by an Englishman, and as having set a fashion which the booksellers followed for half a century. The rarity of the engraved chart is probably due to its having been suppressed officially with all the unlicensed narratives, and perhaps no edition of it was ever printed. Two or three years later, however, Cockson succeeded in putting on the market a pair of engraved portraits of Howard and Essex, showing their principal exploits in the background; but the representation there given of the Cadiz action is clearly not taken from the present chart.<sup>1</sup>

The diagram of the flags is of even greater interest than this unique chart. It is the first example of any such arrangement in the English service or perhaps any other. The ships them-

<sup>1</sup> For the above details concerning Cockson and his work the Society is indebted to Mr. Sidney Colvin, Keeper of the Prints in the British Museum, who has generously placed at my disposal the manuscript of this part of his forthcoming work on English engravers.

selves, of course, like those in Boazio's chart, must be taken to be drawn quite diagrammatically. All those represented had four masts except the Dreadnought, the Crane, the Merhonour, and the three vessels of the rear-admiral's squadron.<sup>1</sup>

The marginal notes relating to the omission of the second squadron have been added by another hand, as though the diagram had been used as a precedent for some later expedition. The right-hand note runs: 'This squadron is now to be omitted in respect that at this time there were two principal admirals, viz. Nottingham and Essex.' Had it referred to the Azores expedition in the following year, it would hardly have been so worded. It is more probable that it relates to the Cadiz expedition of 1625. That expedition certainly had only three English squadrons, the Dutch forming a fourth; but the difficulty is that, so far as we know, the squadrons did not bear the flags here represented. From a serious quarrel that took place amongst the junior flag officers we know that the vice-admiral of the first, or admiral's, squadron then flew 'a red flag with a little white and St. George's cross therein.' In the second he flew 'a blue flag,' and it is only in the third or rear-admiral's squadron that he flew a white flag as in the present case. It would therefore appear that the expedition of 1625, and not that of 1596, was the origin of the red, white, and blue. But this is not perfectly clear. Although from the elaborate nature of the diagram, and Slingsby's known interest and skill in heraldry, there can be little doubt that these were the flags actually used in the Cadiz campaign, yet there is evidence that they were not those originally designed. Mr. Oppenheim has called attention to an entry in the

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MS.* 19889.



Pipe Office accounts which shows that others had been ordered.<sup>1</sup> The item is as follows: 'Richard Waters, of London, upholster, for 4 large flags made of fine hemp, containing in each of them 85 yards of the same stuff, being each of them of several colours: viz. one white, one orange-tawny, one blue, and the fourth crimson colour, which were appointed to be made for the distinguishing of the four squadrons of the fleet for the service then intended . . . 16*l*. 14*s*. 8*d*.'<sup>2</sup> This occurs in a roll closing the accounts of the Navy Treasurership with the representatives of Sir John Hawkyns, and extending from January 1, 1595, to April 28, 1596, and it is in that part of the account which refers to extraordinary payments in respect of 'charges in equipping and setting forth sixteen of her Majesty's ships and pinnaces to the seas.' The unusual particularity of the item suggests that it was thought to require some justification, which would be natural if the flags it refers to had never been used. That the four plain-coloured flags were ordered there can be no doubt, and we may therefore still see the system of a red, a white, and a blue squadron originating in this expedition. The 'orange-tawny' is to be explained by the fact that it was a colour which Essex affected, and which he and his pages used as a military uniform at his meeting with Henry IV. in Normandy, when he was in command there in 1591.<sup>3</sup> In any case we may note that here, as in 1625, the white is the junior flag, and this precedence seems to have continued until it was changed under the Commonwealth. The first clear instance of the order red, white, and blue appears to be in Blake's fleet of 1653.

<sup>1</sup> *Administration of the Royal Navy*, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Pipe Office Declared Accounts*, 2232.

<sup>3</sup> Palma Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*.

The tinctures of the squadronal flags of 1596 as here represented are difficult to account for. The green and white are of course the ordinary Tudor colours. But the tinctures of the first two squadrons bear no relation, as might have been expected, to those of the arms of Essex and Howard, or to those of any of the Queen's standards.

As for the author of the narrative, although there is no direct evidence on the point, he may without difficulty be identified with Sir William Slingsby, of Kippax, a cadet of the famous old Yorkshire family of Slingsby of Scriven, and uncle of the Sir Robert Slingsby whose 'Discourse on the Navy' was published in the seventh volume of the Society. As appears from the learned and exhaustive notes of the Rev. Daniel Parsons in his edition of the 'Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby,' he was the seventh son of Mr. Francis Slingsby of Scriven, and Mary Percy, the only sister of Thomas and Henry Percy, seventh and eighth Earls of Northumberland. He was thus highly connected; but it was a connection that would not be likely to be of much use to him under Elizabeth. His grandfather, Sir Thomas Percy, brother of the sixth Earl, had been hanged at Tyburn for participation in the 'Pilgrimage of Grace;' his uncle Thomas was executed at York for his share in the 'Rebellion of the North;' and his uncle Henry had been sent to the Tower on suspicion of dealings with Mary Stuart, where in 1585 he was found shot in his bed.

At the time of the expedition William Slingsby—or, as he was in the habit of signing himself, 'Slyngisbie'—was twenty-three years old, having been born about 1562; but, beyond the fact that he was a member of Gray's Inn, nothing is known of him till 1594. In May that year he was travelling in Italy,

and was arrested and thrown into prison at Como, 'within the state of Milan,' on suspicion of being an Englishman. It was a time when Elizabeth was about to revive the languishing war with all her force. Drake had been recalled to favour, and Essex and Howard were planning their great expedition. Every Englishman in Spanish territory was a suspicious person; but by stoutly protesting he was a Scottish scholar, abroad for his education, Slingsby secured his liberty, and by July was back in England. It is possible he had been employed as an 'intelligencer,' or upon some other secret service, for he seems to have been received with favour. Immediately on landing he applied for employment in the great expedition that every one was talking about, and his application was backed by Sir George Carew, Lieutenant of the Ordnance, who was then officially the first soldier in the kingdom. 'In this,' he wrote to his eldest brother Henry, 'I was willing to employ myself, and by the advice of Sir George Carew, my dearest friend, I thought of a place very honourable for me, which was to be commissary of the munition.' The Lord Treasurer, Burghley, and the Lord Admiral, Howard, had both consented, and so he hoped to get it, he said, if the journey held.

But, as we know, the expedition was deferred for two years. We hear of him again at Bath, whither in the spring of 1596 he had gone with Sir Thomas Cecil, Lord Burghley's eldest son. He appears to have hurried back to London when it was hastily decided that Essex, with so much of the expeditionary force as was ready for service, was to try to save Calais from the sudden attack which the Spaniards had made upon it, but he arrived only to find the place past praying for.

From the epitaph on his fine tomb in Knares-

borough Church, it appears he actually sailed in the expedition in the office that had been promised him, as 'commissary-general of munitions.' The office is not mentioned in Vere's general orders relating to the 'public officers of the army,' but the epitaph says clearly he served as '*exercitus Elizabethæ, quo oppidum classis insulaque Cadiz felicissime intercepta sunt, munitionum publicarum commissionarius generalis, anno 1596.*' He also speaks of himself in the manuscript as holding this position. There is, indeed, little doubt, in spite of the silence of the general orders, that the office did exist under Carew as Master of the Ordnance, or General of the Artillery, to the expedition, and the probability is that Slingsby sailed in the ship of 'his dearest friend,' the famous old Mary Rose, with Raleigh's squadron. Still his position can hardly have been one of much distinction, or he could not have escaped the shower of knighthoods that followed the capture of Cadiz. He does not appear to have distinguished himself in any way. The bent of his nature was probably not in the direction of a military or naval career. The care with which he sets out all the documents he could lay hands on points rather to the nature of a scholar or lawyer or man of affairs. In the spring of 1597 he was trying to get Cecil to give him a civil appointment under the Council of the North, of which his eldest brother was a prominent and active member.<sup>1</sup> We know, too, that he suffered terribly at sea, and was ambitious of a political life. Later in the year, having failed apparently in his application for employment in the North, he joined Essex's new expedition, and sailed in Carew's flagship, the Cadiz prize, St. Andrew, of which his youngest brother, Francis, was captain. This time he does not appear to have had

<sup>1</sup> *Domestic Calendars*, March 31, 1597.

any staff appointment. He speaks of himself as a gentleman-adventurer, though his brother, Captain Francis Slingsby, was Master of the Ordnance to the expedition. On August 12, while the expeditionary force was being reorganised in Plymouth after its first disastrous start, William wrote to his father telling him of the lamentable condition of the fleet, and how numbers of his fellow gentlemen-adventurers were stealing away in disgust. 'Yet I thank God,' he said, 'my brother and myself ride it out at an anchor with resolution to endure with the last all ill-health at land, though for my own part at the seas I was the sickest of six hundred in our ship.' Three days later he wrote to his eldest brother, saying he had heard that a Parliament was to be summoned in the autumn, and he urged him to persuade his father to nominate him for a seat. 'For it is a thing,' he said, 'I do exceedingly desire.' He was sailing in despair of any success, and 'were it not,' he protested, 'my respect for my reputation were dearer to me than my hope of advantage, I would long since have left the journey.'

His apprehensions were fulfilled. On the outward voyage the *St. Andrew* was disabled off the north coast of Spain, and in the last extremity of distress was forced to take refuge in Rochelle. Hence he undertook, at Carew's request, to make his way overland to England to carry news of their misfortune and their safety; and this is the last notice we have of his being engaged in naval adventure.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hatfield Papers (Hist. MSS. Com.)*, vii. ; Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil, August 31, 1597 (p. 371), and same to same, September 10 (p. 382). Mr. Parsons is inclined to believe that he continued to serve the Queen at sea. There was certainly a Captain Slingsby who commanded the *Antelope* on the coast of Spain in 1598 (*Hatfield Papers*, viii. 242), the *Tramontana* in 1599 (Monson), and the *Mary Rose* in 1602 (*ibid.*), but from the

Thenceforth his way seems to have led him along paths that were more congenial. The fact that in 1603, as his epitaph testifies, he was made honorary carver to Anne of Denmark, James's new queen, points to some assiduity as a courtier, and so well did he hold his own that in 1617, on the King's departure for Scotland, he was made Deputy-Lieutenant of Middlesex, to keep the peace in his Majesty's absence. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Stephen Board, of Board Hall, in Sussex, and by her, amongst other issue, had a son Henry, who became Master of the Mint to Charles the First. In later years he devoted himself to heraldry and genealogy, and it was under his supervision that the elaborate and erudite pedigree of the family was drawn up. He died in August 1634, at the ripe age of seventy-two, and was buried, as we have seen, in Knaresborough Church, close by his Yorkshire home, where his beautiful monument testifies to the prosperity he enjoyed and the esteem in which he was held.

The letters quoted above (except where otherwise noted) will be found, together with further details of his life and connections, in Mr. Parsons's work already cited. Though he appears usually to have signed himself 'Slyngisbie,' yet in his manuscript he wrote 'Slingisbye,' and his epitaph has 'Slingisbeius.' For the most part each member of the family used a different spelling for his signature.

As regards the orthography of other names occurring in the body of the manuscript the rule of

fact that he also commanded the *Consent* under the Earl of Cumberland in 1597, it is probable that this man was neither William nor Francis, but their elder brother Guildford, afterwards Controller of the Navy. Francis went to Ireland as a soldier, and during the Spanish descent was Constable of Haulbowline Castle, in Cork harbour, under Sir George Carew (*Hibernia Pacata*, *passim*).

the Society has been departed from. In the great majority of the cases it has been found impossible to obtain knowledge of each individual's idiosyncrasy. The spelling of the manuscript has therefore been retained, and notes added wherever the form of the signature is known.

JULIAN S. CORBETT.

## THE VOYAGE TO CADIZ, 1596

*THE VOYAGE TO CALIS IN ANDALUSIA, FAITHFULLY RELATED BY SIR W. SLINGISBYE, EMPLOYED IN THAT SERVICE.<sup>1</sup>*

IN the year 1596 the Queen's Majesty of England, for the annoyance of the King of Spain, set forth to the seas a fleet consisting of 14 of her ships royal and four pinnaces, with 68 merchant ships of war, in which 6,800 land soldiers were transported, and of eighteen hoys and flyboats laden with horses, victuals, and private provisions, under the joint command of Charles Howard, Baron of Effingham, Great Admiral of England, and of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

And at her Majesty's request the States of the United Provinces furnished 18 ships of war and 6 flyboats laden with munition and victuals, under the command of the Lord John [van] Duyvenvoord,<sup>2</sup> Admiral of Holland, whose directions were to attend her Majesty's fleet and to obey her generals.

### THE CONTENTS.

*First.*—The declarations of the causes moving her Majesty to set forth these armies.

*Secondly.*—The commanders, officers, number, and quality of the land army.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has 'Calis' and 'Cales' indiscriminately. The author usually signed 'Slyngisbie.'

<sup>2</sup> MS. has here and elsewhere 'Duvanuord.'



*Thirdly.*—The commanders by sea, with the names and number of the ships in the fleet.

*Fourthly.*—How the admirals, vice-admirals, and rear-admirals bare their flags in their several squadrons.

*Fifthly.*—The discipline directed by the generals to be observed in the fleet.

*Sixthly.*—The discourse of these proceedings and services in the voyage.

*A Declaration of the Causes moving the Queen's Majesty of England to prepare and send a Navy to the Seas, for the Defence of her Realms, against the King of Spain's Forces, the which was printed in divers Languages, and distributed amongst the Foreign Princes, her Allies and Confederates.*<sup>1</sup>

To all Christian people, to whom this declaration shall come to be read or heard, greeting : We, Robert, Earl of Essex and Ewe, Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bouchier and Lovayne, &c., and Charles Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England, having the charge of a royal navy of ships prepared and sent to the seas by the most excellent Princess the Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c., Do give all men knowledge that the said navy, under our charge, is by her Majesty prepared and sent to serve on the seas for the defence of her Majesty's realms, dominions, and subjects against such mighty forces, as we are advertised from all parts of Christendom to be ready prepared by the King of Spain, and by further provisions of men and ships daily sent for are to be mightily increased, to

<sup>1</sup> This declaration is in effect an enunciation of the English doctrine of contraband of war and its consequences, about which there had been considerable dispute, especially with the Baltic and North Sea powers and Venice.

invade her Majesty's realms, as heretofore in the year 1588 was attempted (even when there was a treaty continued by both their commissioners for a peace) with a greater army then ever before in his time was set to the seas; though by God's goodness and the valour and wisdom of her noble and faithful subjects the same was notably made frustrate. And because her Majesty hath good intelligence of perfect amity with all kings and princes of Christendom, saving with the King of Spain, who by divers actions, both against her royal person and her people and countries, without any just cause first given on her Majesty's part, hath justly provoked her thereunto. Therefore, we, the said Earl and Lord Admiral, do ascertain all persons, that we are most straightly commanded, by her excellent Majesty, to forbear from offending in this our voyage of any manner of persons of what nation soever, except the said King's natural subjects, or such others, born strangers, as shall give the said King manifest aid with men, ships, artillery, victuall, and other warlike provisions for invasion of her Majesty; which her Majesty's commandment we mean dutifully to observe. And do, therefore, give straight charge to all persons that shall serve in this navy underneath us, upon pain of extreme punishment, to observe the same: yet to avoid all occasions that may breed question who they are (being not the King of Spain's subjects), that shall be charged by us to be manifest aiders, for the furnishing and strengthening of the said King's forces (provided either by land or sea) to attempt any invasion of her Majesty's countries. We do, for the liquidation of this doubt, earnestly in God's name require and charge all persons that are not the King's natural subjects, and yet that have given him aid with their ships, victual, and munition,

as is abovesaid, to withdraw all their said ships prepared for the war, and all their provisions of hostility, out of any havens of Spain or Portugal, or from the company and service of the King's ships against our navy, and therewith to return, either to their own countries, or (if they so shall like) to come to our navy, to whom, in the reverend name of our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, we do promise all security both for their persons and goods, to be used and defended as friends, and to suffer all their provisions and ships, that were either taken by the King of Spain, or intended for his service, or that shall be by the owners withdrawn from his aid, to remain in their own free dispositions, so as the same be used in all sorts as friends, and not as enemies, to the Queen, and to us her generals. And if any shall, upon knowledge of this her Majesty's most honourable order (and of our promise to observe the same, as favourably as we may), willingly and manifestly refuse to accept this our offer, and shall not endeavour themselves to perform this reasonable request, tending to their good and liberty, we shall then be justly moved (as by the laws of arms we may) to take and use all such so refusing this our offer, as manifest aiders of the King of Spain with forces to invade her Majesty's dominions, and so manifest enemies: And in such case of that refusal, if any harm shall happen by any attempt against their persons, ships, and goods by any of our navy for the aiding of the said King, there shall be no just cause for them hereafter to complain, or to procure their natural princes and lords to solicit restitutions and amends for the same: And for the more notification hereof, we have thought good to have the original to be signed with our hands and with our seals, to be seen by

any that will be require to read or see the same :  
And likewise we have put the same in print, in  
French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish : and have also  
caused the same to be distributed into as many ports  
of Spain and Portugal as conveniently might be,  
for the better knowledge to be had in the said ports,  
as also in other parts under his subjection.

R. Essex. C. Howard.

*THE COMMANDERS, OFFICERS, NUMBER, AND  
QUALITY OF THE LAND ARMY.<sup>1</sup>*

The Earl of Essex } Joint Generals of the armies  
The Lord Admiral } by sea and land.  
The Lord Thomas Howard, Vice-Admiral of the  
Fleet.

Sir Walter Raleigh,<sup>2</sup> Rear-Admiral.

Sir Francis Vere, Lord Marshal of the Army by  
Land.

Sir George Carew, General of the Artillery.

Sir Conyers<sup>3</sup> Clifford, Serjeant-Major of the Army.

Mr. Anthony Ashley,<sup>4</sup> Secretary to the Council of  
War.<sup>5</sup>

*Colonels<sup>6</sup> of Regiments.*

The Earl of Essex.

The Lord Admiral.

<sup>1</sup> In the following list the spelling of the MS. is retained except where otherwise noted.

<sup>2</sup> MS. has 'Raleigh' or 'Rawleigh' throughout.

<sup>3</sup> MS. has 'Cognyers' throughout.

<sup>4</sup> MS. has 'Ashlye.'

<sup>5</sup> Against the above eight names the MS. has the following note, 'These were the selected Council of War,' and the further explanation : There was no Treasurer-General of the Army, for that her Majesty had by her commission given power unto Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance, Mr. Anthony Ashley, Secretary, and to Mr. Marmaduke Darrell, the Victualler-General, to take into their charge (with the privity of the Lords Generals) to her use such purchase and prizes of value as should be taken.

<sup>6</sup> MS. has 'Coronells' throughout.

Sir Francis Vere.  
 Sir Conyers Clifford.  
 Sir John Wingfield, Campmaster.  
 Sir Christopher Blount.  
 The Earl of Sussex.  
 Sir Thomas Gerrard.<sup>1</sup>  
 Sir Richard Wingfield.

*Inferior Officers of the Army.*

Captain Goring, Lieutenant of the Ordnance.  
 Captain Lambert, Quartermaster-General.  
 Captain Slingisbye,<sup>2</sup> Commissary-General of the  
 Munitions.  
 Captain Bouchier, Muster-Master-General.  
 Captain Buck, Provost-Marshal.

*Corporals of the Field.*

Captain Symmes.                      Captain Covert.  
 Captain Dewxbury.                Captain Hales.

*THE COMPANIES OF EVERY REGIMENT.<sup>3</sup>*

The Lord General Essex his com-	}	Soldiers,
pany, commanded by Captain		
Savage . . . . . 200		
The General of the Artillery . . . . . 150		350

<sup>1</sup> MS., 'Gerard.'

<sup>2</sup> The author of the MS. The name is written over an erasure. Lambert was first entered as 'Quartermaster-General and Provost-Marshal.' 'Provost-Marshal' was then erased and Slingisbye's name written over it. No other authority mentions the office of commissary of the munitions, nor does it appear in the general orders which at Essex's request Sir Francis Vere drew up at Plymouth. See 'Directions how far any man's office in the army doth extend and what duties the officers shall do.' British Museum MSS. Galba D. xii. and Harleian, 168, f. 120.

<sup>3</sup> There are two other regimental lists—one in *State Papers*,

*The Lord General Essex his Regiment.*<sup>1</sup>

Sir Matthew Morgan, Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	150	} Soldiers, 1,050
Captain Oliver Lambert, Serjeant-Major . . . . .	150	
Captain Medkirk, Dutchman . . . . .	100	
Captain Goring . . . . .	100	
Captain Heigham . . . . .	100	
Captain Fleming . . . . .	100	

*The Lord Admiral's Regiment.*

The Lord Admiral's Company, commanded by Captain Dutton . . . . .	200	} Soldiers, 500
Sir William Woodhouse, Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	100	
Sir Walter Raleigh, in his Company. . . . .	200	

*The Lord Marshal's Regiment.*

The Lord Marshal's Company . . . . .	150	} Soldiers, 750.
Captain Bagnoll, <sup>2</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	100	
Captain Constable, Serjeant-Major . . . . .	100	
Captain Haydon . . . . .	100	
Captain Carew . . . . .	100	
Captain Daniel Vere . . . . .	100	
Captain Upcher . . . . .	100	

*Domestic*, cclvii. 107, and another, Birch, *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, i. pp. 11-15, both differing in details. An imperfect list is also in *Hatfield Papers*, vii. 205.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. is arranged thus, but of course the 350 men in Essex's and Carew's companies formed part of the Lord General Essex's regiment and are included in the total of 1,050 men. The arrangement is noteworthy as showing the company of a great staff officer, who was not a field officer in the regiment, taking precedence of the lieutenant-colonel's company, a very unusual case. In the Lord Admiral's regiment it will be seen the usual precedence is followed, though Raleigh was rear-admiral.

<sup>2</sup> He signed 'Bagnal.'

*The Serjeant-Major's Regiment.*

Sir Conyers Clifford's Company	. 150	Soldiers, 750.
Captain Merryck, <sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel	100	
Captain Davis, Serjeant-Major	. 100	
Captain Dancye . . . . .	. 100	
Captain Wilton . . . . .	. 100	
Captain Talkerne . . . . .	. 100	
Captain John Poolye . . . . .	. 100	

*The Earl of Sussex, his Regiment.*

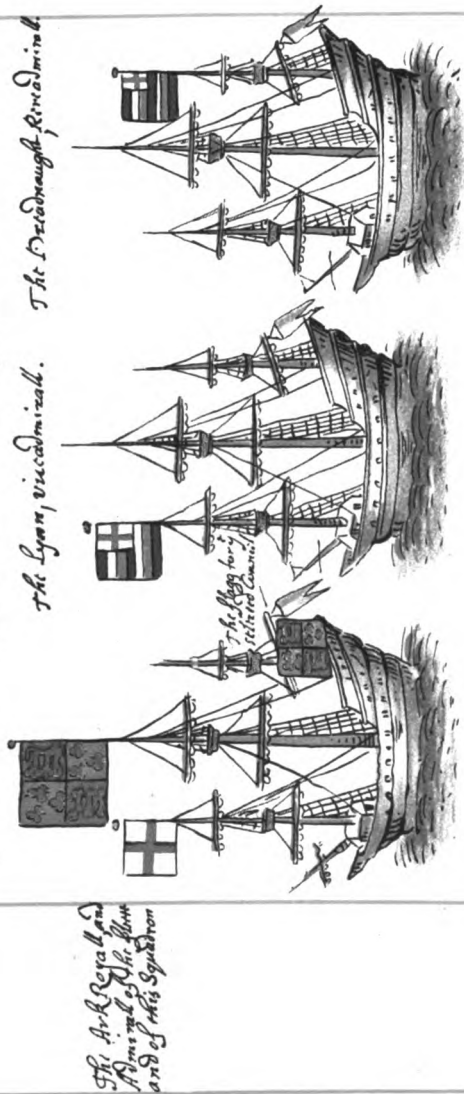
The Earl of Sussex his Company	. 150	Soldiers, 750.
Captain Edward Conway, Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	. 100	
Captain Foulk Conway, Serjeant-Major . . . . .	. 100	
Captain William Harvey . . . . .	. 100	
Captain Rushe . . . . .	. 100	
Captain Tirwhitt . . . . .	. 100	
Captain Willyams . . . . .	. 100	

*Sir John Wingfield's Regiment.*

Sir John Wingfield's Company	. 150	Soldiers, 750.
Captain Horatio Vere, Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	. 100	
Captain Lawrence, Serjeant-Major . . . . .	. 100	
Captain Richards . . . . .	. 100	
Captain Gerard Harvey . . . . .	. 100	
Captain Hambridge . . . . .	. 100	
Captain Harecourt . . . . .	. 100	

<sup>1</sup> He signed 'Meyricke.'

The voyage to Calis in Andalusia in Anno. 1596.  
 How the Admirally, Vice Admirally, and Rear Admirally bore their flags  
 in the Fleet, and in their Squadrons.







*Sir Thomas Gerrard's Regiment.*

Sir Thomas Gerrard his Company .	150	} Soldiers, 750.
Captain Throgmorton, Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	100	
Captain Floyd, Serjeant-Major . . . . .	100	
Captain Mollynax . . . . .	100	
Captain Salisbury . . . . .	100	
Captain Collyer . . . . .	100	
Captain Bullen . . . . .	100	

*Sir Christopher Blount's Regiment.*

Sir Christopher Blount his Company .	150	} Soldiers, 750.
Captain Charles Blount, Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .	100	
Captain Brett, Serjeant-Major . . . . .	100	
Captain Bolstred . . . . .	100	
Captain Thomas Willyams . . . . .	100	
Captain Follyott . . . . .	100	
Captain Mansell . . . . .	100	

*Sir Richard Wingfield's Regiment.*

Sir Richard Wingfield's Company .	150	} Soldiers, 750.
Captain Conny, Lieutenant-Colonel .	100	
Captain Jackson, Serjeant-Major . .	100	
Captain George Gifford . . . . .	100	
Captain Smith . . . . .	100	
Captain Flemming . . . . .	100	
Captain Hopton . . . . .	100	

And one hundred Lancers of the Lord General Essex, commanded by Captain John Aldridge.

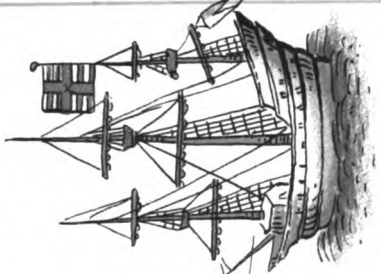
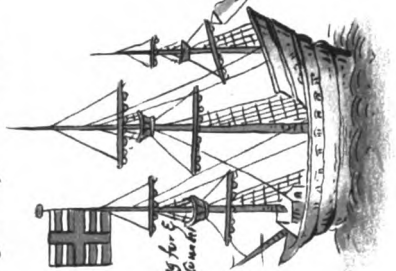
In all, 6,800 foot and 100 horse.

Of which foot companies 2,200 were drawn out of the garrisons in the Low Countries, with their captains, by the choice of Sir Francis Vere, together with some voluntaries of Dutch companies under



22 July 1892

The vanguard, Rear Admiral.



2965 Squawron is new  
to be omitted in report  
lost at 1962, mid-1962  
new for 1963 all  
Admiralty. viz  
K. L. Hingston: E. B. C. 1



The Prudence, of Ply-	The Mermaid, of Dart-
mouth	mouth
The Jacob, of Enkhuy-	The great ship of Flush-
sen <sup>1</sup>	ing
	The Yager, of Schiedam <sup>2</sup>

With 5 sail of hoys and flyboats laden with horses  
and private provisions.

In all, 28 sail.

*The Earl of Essex his Squadron.*

*Of the Queen's Ships.*

The Earl of Essex, in the Due Repulse, Admiral  
also of the Fleet and of this squadron.

Sir Francis Vere, in the Rainbow, Vice-Admiral.

Sir John Wingfield, in the Vanguard, Rear-  
Admiral.

The Prince of Portugal, in the Tramontana.<sup>3</sup>  
in the Charles, a pinnace.

*Of the Merchant Ships.*

*The Lioness	The Bark Rowe <sup>4</sup>
†The Mynion	†The Green Dragon
†The Jonathan	*The Phoenix, of Amster-
†The Cherubim	dam
†The Brave	The Vineyard <sup>4</sup>
†The Gift of God	The Archangel <sup>5</sup>
†The Marygold	The Swan
*The Chameleon	The great ship of Flush-
†The Posthorse	ing
The Howard	The Mermaid <sup>5</sup>

With 5 sail of hoys and flyboats laden with horses  
and private provisions.

In all, 28 sail.

<sup>1</sup> MS. has 'Anchusen' throughout.

<sup>2</sup> MS., 'Skidam.'

<sup>3</sup> Monson says she was commanded by Captain King.

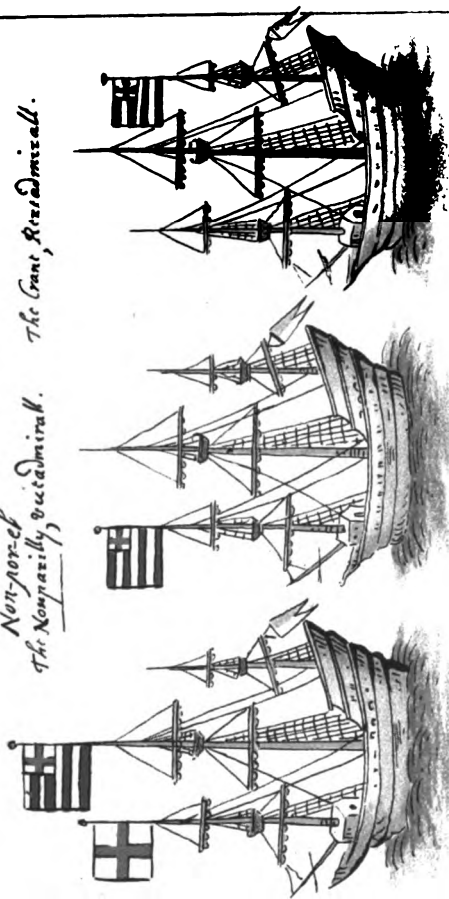
<sup>4</sup> Coast town ships.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Anthony Shirley's.



The *Merchandise* is  
*Admiral's Ship*  
*of the*  
*Squadron*

*Nonpareil*  
*The Nonpareil, Vice Admiral.*  
*The Grant, Rear Admiral.*







*Sir Walter Raleigh's Squadron.*

*Of the Queen's Ships.*

Sir Walter Raleigh, in the Warspite, Rear-Admiral of the Fleet and Admiral of this squadron .	}	4
Sir George Carew, in the Mary Rose .		
Captain Robert Crosse, in the Swiftsure, Vice- Admiral . . . . .		
Captain George Gifford, in the Quittance, Rear- Admiral . . . . .		

*Of the Merchant Ships.*

*The Roebuck . . . . .	}	15
*The Centurion . . . . .		
†The Primrose . . . . .		
The Great Katherine <sup>1</sup> . . . . .		
†The Experience . . . . .		
†The Mary Ann . . . . .		
†The Peter, of London . . . . .		
The St. Jacob, of Akersloot . . . . .		
The St. Peter, of Enkhuysen . . . . .		
†The Blue Pigeon . . . . .		
The Prudence <sup>1</sup> . . . . .		
†The Amulo . . . . .		
The Popinjaye . . . . .		
†The Jacob, of Enkhuysen . . . . .		
The new Flemish hulk . . . . .		

With 4 hoys and flyboats laden with horses and provisions.

In all, 23 sail.

<sup>1</sup> Coast town ships.

*The Flemish Squadron.**Of the Flemish Ships of War.*

John [van] Duyvenvoord, Admiral of Holland and Lord of Warmont, in the Neptune, Admiral of this squadron . . . . .	
Captain John Gerbrantsen, of Enkhuysen, in the Lion, Vice-Admiral . . . . .	3
Captain Cornelius Lensen, of Flushing, in the Ele, Rear-Admiral . . . . .	

With 15 sail more of men-of-war and 6 hoys and  
flyboats laden with munition and victuals for  
supply.

In all, 24 sail.

*In these Five Squadrons.*

Of the Queen's ships and pinnaces . . . . .	18
Of merchant ships . . . . .	68
Of hoys and flyboats . . . . .	18
Of the Flemish squadron . . . . .	24

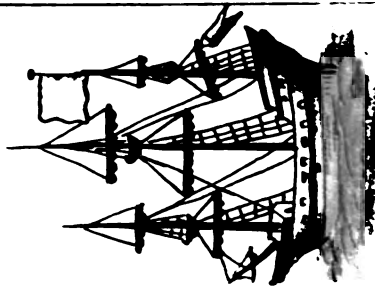
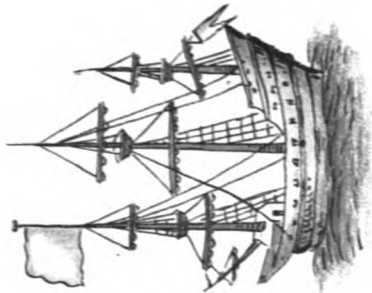
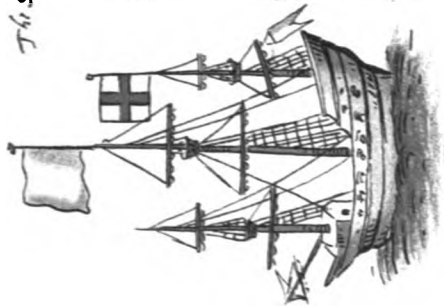
In all the fleet, 128 sail.

Besides great store of ships and barks from  
divers parts that followed the fleet upon their own  
adventures for purchase and pillage.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the final return which Captain Robert Crosse made to Sir Robert Cecil, dated Plymouth, May 30, he puts the figures thus :— Queen's ships, 15; London and coast towns, 77; Low Countries, 28; or 120 sail in all. He seems to exclude pinnaces which had been sent forward for intelligence. The two lists in *S. P. Dom.* give 17 Queen's ships, but do not mention the Tramontana. They also give 12 London men-of-war, and the grand total at 94, exclusive of the 'Flemish' squadron. On one list Burghley has calculated the ships thus : Men-of-war, 29 (*i.e.* of the Queen's, 17; of London, 12); coasters (*i.e.* of coast towns), 17; victuallers, 36; making a total of 82, besides 7 ships 'not put into squadron.'

The warship  
Admiral of the  
Squadron.

The Swiftsure, Admiral of the  
Squadron.





*THE DISCIPLINE DIRECTED BY THE GENERALS  
TO BE OBSERVED IN THE FLEET.*

Instructions and articles set down by us, Robert, Earl of Essex, and Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, generals of her Majesty's forces, employed in this action, both by sea and land, to be observed by every captain and chief officer of the navy, as they will answer it to their perils; and that every ship's company may not be ignorant hereof, we do hereby straightly charge and command all captains to give order that at service time they may be openly read twice every week.

1. First, that you take a special care to serve God, by using of common prayer twice every day, except urgent cause enforce the contrary, and that no man, soldier or mariner, do dispute of matters of religion, unless it be to be resolved of some doubts; and in such case, that he confer with the ministers of the army; for it is not fit that unlearned men should argue of so high and mystical matters. And if any person shall forget himself and his duty herein, he shall upon knowledge thereof receive open punishment to his shame, and after be banished the army; and if any shall hear it and not reveal it to us their generals, he shall receive the like punishment.

2. You shall forbid swearing, brawling, diceing, and such like disorders as may breed contention in your ships, wherein you shall avoid God's displeasure, and win his favour.

3. Picking and stealing you shall severely punish; and if the fault be great, you shall acquaint us therewith, that martial law may be inflicted upon the offenders.

4. You shall take great care to preserve your

E 2

victuals, and to observe such orders therein as you shall receive by particular directions from us your generals. And that every captain of each ship receive an account once a week how his victuals are spent and what remains, to the end that order may be taken for the lengthening it in time.

5. All persons whatsoever within your ships shall come to the ordinary services of the ship without any manner of contradiction or cavil.

6. You shall give especial charge, for avoiding the danger of fire ; and that no candles be carried in your ship without the lanthorn : which if any person shall disobey, you shall severely punish. And if any chance of fire, or other danger (which God forbid), should happen to any ship near unto you, then shall you by your boats and all other means seek to help and relieve her.

7. Your powder you shall carefully preserve from spoil and waste, without which we cannot undertake any great service.

8. You shall give order that your ship may be kept clean daily and sometimes washed, which (with God's help) shall preserve you from sickness, and avoid many other inconveniences.

9. You shall give order and special charge, that your top-masts be favoured, and the heads of your masts ; and that you have care not to bear too high a sail when your ship goeth by the wind, and especially in a head sea ; for the spoil of your masts may greatly hinder us and endanger the enterprises which otherwise (with God's help) we should perform with safety.

10. All such as are in ships under the government of those that have charge of a squadron shall, as near as in them lies, keep together ; and not, for chase of other ships or any other cause, go out of the squadron but by the commandment of the

admiral of that squadron: unless any of the two generals shall send for them; or by message appoint them to any service; or that by weather they shall be separated; and then (as they may) they shall endeavour to repair to the place appointed, by such instructions as shall be set down. And if there be any sail perceived by any of the ships of the squadron, it shall be lawful for the next ship having the wind to give chase, the ship descried being to the windward; and the like, of any that be nearest, to bear up, if the sail descried be to leeward. But because upon every chase, all will be apt to follow the same, and so be led away upon every occasion from the fleet, it shall not be lawful for any second ship to follow any chase (one having undertaken the same) unless the admiral of the squadron hang out two flags one over another. If it be necessary for three to follow, then shall the general or admiral of the squadron hang forth three flags, one over another, which shall be for warrant to three of the next and fittest to follow as aforesaid. But if the admiral bear up and come upon a wind himself, then may all the squadrons give chase and follow: which if it shall seem inconvenient to either of us your generals, and that we hang out the flag of council, it shall serve as a warning that the chase is misliked, and that all give over and keep their course.

11. Every ship shall towards the evening seek to come as near as conveniently she may to speak with the admiral of the squadron, to know his pleasure, what course he will keep; And that the admiral of the squadron do bear up or stand upon a wind to speak with us your generals, if he conveniently may. The rest of the squadrons may notwithstanding keep their course and distance, and if the admiral of the squadron cannot recover the



head of his fleet before night, the rest shall then follow the light of the vice-admiral of the said squadron.

12. That every squadron keep a good berth one from another ; and that the squadrons do in themselves keep a reasonable berth one from another, that they fall not foul one of another, whereby danger may grow ; And that the great ships have a special regard not to calm the smaller. And if any of those smaller ships shall negligently bring themselves in danger of the greater ships, the captain, and master especially, shall be severely punished. And further, that either the admiral, or rear-admiral of the squadron, be always in the rearward of his fleet.

13. When there is a flag of council of the red cross hung out in either of our the generals' ships, half-mast high against the mizen mast,<sup>1</sup> then the captains and master of every ship shall repair on board that ship, where the flag is so hung out. And when the flag of arms shall be displayed, then shall the selected council only come on board.

14. If your ship happen to spring a mast, to fall into a leak, or such like mischance (which God forbid), you shall shoot off a piece, and spring a luff.<sup>2</sup> If it be in the night, you shall shoot off two pieces, and bear two great lights, one a man's height and a half above another.

15. Every captain and master of the fleet shall have a special regard that no contention be found between the mariners and the soldiers. And in time of sickness (if any do happen amongst you) you shall of such good things, as are to be had and needful for them, distribute to them in such convenient sort as you may.

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'misne' throughout.

<sup>2</sup> MS. looffe.

16. If you happen to lose company, your token shall be to strike and hoist<sup>1</sup> your main topsail twice: if it be foul weather, then to hoist and strike your main-mizen twice, or as often as you list: And to wear your white pendant on the mizen yard: And if you shall lose the company of us your generals, you shall find us at such place as we will give you instructions for at sea.

17. If in chasing of any ship you happen to fetch her up, if she be a ship in amity with her Majesty, you shall intreat her well, and bring her to us: But if you find her to be an enemy, you shall make no spoil of the goods in her, but shall take the captain and master of her aboard you, and put into her some sufficient persons to bring her forthwith unto us your generals, or to such as we shall assign, that order may be taken, what shall be done withall.

18. When you shall be appointed to give chase, and that you shall surprise any enemy's ship that shall have treasure or merchandise of value in her, you shall take great care that those commodities in her shall be preserved; in respect whereof, and for your loyal and faithful service to be done in this journey, her Majesty's bounty, favour, and pleasure is that a third part of that which shall be taken from the enemy (so it be not the King's treasure, jewels, or a carrack) shall be employed to the commodity and benefit of the whole company over and above their ordinary wages.

19. No captain or master shall suffer any spoil to be made on board of any ship or bark that shall be taken by them or any of their company, upon pain to be displaced of their offices or some great punishment according to the offence given. Because

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'hoyse.'

the rest of the company have interest in everything that shall be taken, therefore the value of every such thing (be it of great or small worth) must especially be regarded and considered of. And whatsoever soldier or mariner, that obeyeth not accordingly, shall be despoiled of that which he hath gotten, and his person extremely punished.

20. Whosoever shall enter aboard any ship, he shall give account of those things that shall be wanting and taken out of her: for that no other company shall board the same, unless there shall be need of her help.

21. If we happen to meet with any great fleet, supposed to be the King of Spain's fleet, you shall endeavour yourselves to come unto us your generals, or to the admiral of your squadron, or, in our absence, to the vice-admiral, or rear-admiral of the fleet, to know what you shall be directed unto: as you will answer it upon the peril of your lives.

22. The watch shall be set every night by eight of the clock, either by drum and trumpet, and singing of the Lord's Prayer, some of the Psalms of David, or clearing the glass.<sup>1</sup> And after the watch is set, no trumpet or drum shall be heard, nor any piece whatsoever shall be shot off, without such great cause shall be offered, as before is signified, or such like.

23. You are to take especial care of your watch by night; and that the soldiers do watch when they are in harbour and at the seas, one third part of them every night. And that there be a captain of the watch appointed, who shall take care that no fire or light be suffered; but only such candles in lanterns as are allowed by the quartermasters or otherwise upon necessity. And that in harbour a

<sup>1</sup> This passage appears to be corrupt in the MS.

certain number do diligently keep watch in the forecastle or beakhead of your ship, for fear of cutting of cables, which is a practice much used in that country.

24. If at any time the generals have occasion to give chase, and that order be given to any other ship to carry their flags until their return to their fleet, all the rest shall follow the flag, in what ship soever it be placed. And that whatsoever ship shall be next to the same, shall take up our, the generals', boats, when we give chase, or the boats of any of the admirals' squadrons,<sup>1</sup> or others whatsoever.

25. No man, upon pain of death, shall presume to land in any country until his return into England without orders from us, the generals, or such as we shall appoint to command.

26. No person shall depart out of the ship wherein he is placed into another without special leave of his captain. And no captain or master shall receive any such person without the knowledge of us your generals, or such as we shall appoint.

27. In fogs (if any happen) when your ships are becalmed, you shall cause some noise to be made by drum, by trumpet, by shooting off a musket or calliver, now and then, or by some other like means, that hearing you to be near, one may take heed, lest he fall foul of another.

28. No person whatsoever shall dare to strike any captain, lieutenant, master, or other officer upon pain of death. And furthermore, whatsoever he be that shall strike any inferior person, he shall receive punishment according to the offence given, be it by death or otherways.

<sup>1</sup> 'Squadron-admirals' is apparently meant. Probably it should read 'admirals of squadrons.' Cf. Art. 31.

29. There shall be no report or talk raised in the fleet, wherein any officer or gentleman in the same may be touched in reputation, or matter of importance, spoken without his author, who shall be severely punished as an evil member amongst us.

30. If any ship or vessel of the fleet shall be assailed and set upon by any galleys in calm weather, so as the other ships cannot come to assist her, you shall man out your boat, and shall give her direction to repair unto the ships of war that shall be next unto her so distressed, to help to tow them unto her rescue and assistance.

31. If any admiral of a squadron shall have cause to give direction to any of his own squadron, then the captains and masters of that squadron shall repair aboard that admiral immediately upon sight of the white pennant removed from the mizen yard and hung in the main yard two men's height.

R. Essex. C. Howard.

*THE DISCOURSE OF THE PROCEEDINGS AND  
SUCCESS OF THIS VOYAGE.*

On Tuesday morning, being the first of June, an<sup>o</sup> 1596, the army was shipped at Plymouth, and the admirals set sail, commanding the residue of the fleet to follow after in their course. And so scant was the wind, as they the rather undertook the voyage that day to draw forth the remainder of their people loitering on the shore, than with hope to proceed in the voyage.

After whom followed in confused manner every ship as they were in a readiness to weigh anchor; and before the evening the last of the fleet was issued out of the Road. All which night they plied on boards off and on alongst the coast, but were enforced the next day to return to anchor within

the Sound of Plymouth, and in Cawsand Bay commandment was given by the lords generals upon pain of death, that no man should go on shore.

The flag for the assembly of the selected council of war was hung forth in the shrouds of the *Ark Royal*, to which ship they resorted. Consultation was there held, what attempt was fit to be made by the royal army for the annoyance of the Spanish King. By the lords generals, the enterprise of Calis in Andaluzia was propounded, as a place of great importance to the King, easy to be surprised, and in itself rich : besides the possibilities to sack Port Royal, Port St. Mary, and Xeres, and to take and burn such ships and galleys as should be found in the Road : which harbour is never unfurnished of both sorts, from whence the West Indian fleet make their voyages and their returns.<sup>1</sup>

By the council present the proposition was allowed, and it was ordered, that until the army were arrived before Calis, no part of Portugal or Spain should be attempted or approached unto in any wise by any of the fleet : or, if they could otherwise choose, not to come within sight of the Spanish coast until they had made the height of the Southerly Cape.<sup>2</sup> And for that the lords generals thought it unfit to impart the secret of the journey to the captains and masters of the army, and yet necessary to give them a place of rendezvous (if by foul weather or otherwise any ship should lose the fleet), order was given to the secretary of the

<sup>1</sup> To this paragraph the MS. has the following marginal note : 'The project for the surprise of Calis was long before secretly propounded by Captain William Morgan, who had lived many years in the port with the Adelantado, who for their better direction went a passenger in his lordship's ship.' Don Martin de Padilla, Conde de Gadea, was Adelantado of Castille, and Spanish naval commander-in-chief at this time.

<sup>2</sup> St. Vincent.

council of war to write for every ship a billet or letter of instruction, closed up and under the generals' seals, the contents following:—

*Directions for the Rendezvous in case of Separation.*

The direction on the outside was :

' If you be separated from the fleet by foul weather or otherwise, you shall herein find to what place you shall repair, till when you shall not open the enclosed upon pain of death.'

The Contents.

By the Lord Generals.

Whereas it may happen (as often is experienced), that some of the fleet may, by foul weather or otherwise, lose the company of his squadron or of the fleet, for the better prevention of the great inconveniences usually thereby following, we do hereby straightly will and command all captains and masters of every such ship, as shall by any occasion so lose company, that they fail not to shape and direct their course to the height of the Cape St. Vincent, called the South Cape, in Spain, making only the land thereof and not to come so near as to be discovered from it by the enemy ; where a couple of pinnaces, or some other meet vessels, shall purposely attend to give them further direction ; and if they shall not find any vessel there to this purpose, then shall they make off and on, in the height of that cape, till some admiral of a squadron shall come, whose direction they shall obey for their further repair, whereof you may not fail at your uttermost perils.

Aboard the *Due Repulse*, in Cawsand<sup>1</sup> Bay, the second of June, 1596.

(Signed) Essex. C. Howard.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Cawshant.

*Posterius.*—Howbeit our meaning is, if you find us not at the cape, that you come immediately for Cales, in Andalusia.

This done, the council was dismissed, and the next day the fleet weighed anchor and followed the Lord Admiral again with a more prosperous wind in his course towards the Spanish coast, continuing the same until the eleventh day of this month ; which day the Lord General Essex, whilst the fleet lay by the lee, went aboard the Lord Admiral, upon whose coming the flag for the assembly of the selected council was again hung forth, all which speedily repaired thither. At that consultation the project was, in what manner the admirals with their squadrons should make their approach into the Bay of Calis ; what places of the island<sup>1</sup> were fittest for the land companies to make their descent ; and in what manner to attempt the town and such ships and galleys as should be found in the Road. But after long debate nothing was concluded, leaving it to further consideration upon the view of the place and of their forces. This done, the flag for assembly of the general council was hung forth upon the shrouds : to which place also the masters and captains of the army did resort. Of whom the lords generals demanded their opinions, to what degree of height the fleet was come, how many leagues from the coast of Spain, and what course was best to be run, to double the Southerly Cape. To these questions varieties of opinions were delivered ; but after long debate it was set down for direction by the allowance of the best reputed mariners, that they were then in the height of 42 degrees to the southward, 30 leagues from the coast, and that the fleet should

<sup>1</sup> The island of Leon, on which Cadiz stands.



run their courses south and by east to double the South Cape. Of which the masters and captains present were commanded to take knowledge, and respectively to attend the admirals of their squadrons.

The fleet continued this course until the 15th day, giving chase to all the ships and sails they could descry, most fortunately taking all they gave chase to, preventing the intelligence of their coming. In some they had good prize of money and merchandise; by others the report in what security they lived in Calis, and of the great riches of that town and fleet there and then outward bound for the West Indies.

The Southerly Cape being doubled and the land made afar off, the lords generals and selected council met again aboard the vice-admiral in the Merhonour, where they renewed the consideration of their proceedings in the attempt of Calis, and gave instructions under their hands to the admirals of squadrons, and colonels of regiments, [concerning] the manner to disembark, as followeth :

*Directions in what sort to land the Army.<sup>1</sup>*

Aboard her Majesty's ship the Merhonour, the 15th of June, 1596, ordered and resolved by the lords generals in council for the landing at Calais.

By the Lords Generals.

1. That the admiral of every squadron have all his boats belonging to his squadron in a readiness to land those that are now in the ships of his squadron.

<sup>1</sup> These are the earliest known orders for landing a military force from a fleet in the face of an enemy. For further particulars see the *Lambeth MS.* and the *Commentaries* of Sir Francis Vere, p. 33.

2. That if he have two regiments to be landed by his said boats, he shall of those regiments land equal numbers, for the first, second, or as many times as the boats come to fetch the men.

3. That every colonel, being one of those that shall have the point at the landing, shall land a third part of his regiment, which third part shall be of his best men ; and those to come without any ensign with them, because no ensign shall be engaged till the place of descent be secured.

4. That the said regiment shall observe the same order in attempting the town or forces, except other directions be given by the generals : viz. That the ensigns be kept where the greatest body and strength of the troops is, till the other third part have tried the possibility of the attempt.

5. That the boats that shall land the troops shall be all marshalled in rank, according to such a front as the place of descent will permit ; which order of march in rowing or sailing they shall precisely keep ; no boat thrusting out of a hinder rank into a former, nor shrinking out of the former into a hinder ; of which order such land-men as command the troops, and such sea-men as direct the boats, shall give a strict account.

6. That all the boats in the hinder ranks shall have their eyes on the boats that lead them ; and all the boats in the first rank shall observe the boat that is appointed to be their guide and director ; which boat shall carry either a St. George's flag or a white pennant in the prow, and shall keep in the head of the first rank.

7. That when the drum that beateth [in] the first rank shall beat a march,<sup>1</sup> they shall all row

<sup>1</sup> This passage is corrupt in the MS. Vere says the general and his guard were to lead, 'whom at a signal from his boat the rest were to follow according to the measure and time of the

forward such a pace, as the first leadeth ; who shall be appointed to row no faster than the slowest boat may conveniently keep company. And if the leading boats stay and the drums cease beating, then shall they all stay. Or if the said leading boat lead backward, or turn her course some other way, he shall do the like.

8. The first boat being landed, they shall be led to a fit place to make a stand to secure the ground of descent, till the ensigns and the goods be landed.

9. That when the admiral at the landing place shall receive his white pennant and set it above his flag in the main-top, then shall the soldiers put themselves into the boats, to be landed as it shall be set down.

Essex. C. Howard.

The fleet held on their course for Calis, far from the shore, for being discovered. Much calmness fell, so as they made but a few leagues in many hours. At last, the 18th day, from out of the admiral, a strange ship was discovered to be amongst them, who that night, unwittingly, fell into their consort, and did her best to be acquitted of that company. But after two shot made by the Ark the master came aboard, who was found to be an Irish merchant of Waterford, the day before come from Calis and homeward bound. Upon examination he related the state of the town, that there had been no discovery or intelligence of the English armada to be on their coast, nor mistrust of any intention to attempt that place, but that they lived in security with an ordinary weak garrison.

sound of the said drum, which they were to observe in the deeping of their oars.' The word 'in' has probably been omitted between 'beateth' and 'the first rank.'

That in the Road of Calis there was ready furnished for the Indies a rich fleet of merchant ships, the King's armadoes in preparation to waft them, and a number of galleys afloat under the town.

This news gave great contentment to the generals, with good hope of an honourable victory to their least loss by their so sudden and unexpected an assault.

The selected council met again aboard the admiral to direct the manner of their assault. Some propounded to attempt the town and fleet at one instant; others the fleet first, suspecting that which after followed, that giving them time of consideration (hopeless to escape) they would with desperate resolution destroy both ships and goods by fire rather than leave to the English so rich a spoil. And by some others it was thought more convenient to assault the town, and make the surprise of that their first attempt.

But after long debate it was resolved that the Lord General Essex should first land the troops and assault the town of Calis in such manner as, upon the view of the places of descent, the opportunity and advantage should be afforded.

And that the Lord Admiral, with the best of the ships of war, should at his choice either give upon the Spanish fleet in the Road, or guard them from escape till the town were surprised; with this addition, that Captain Alexander Clifford in the *Rainbow*, together with the *Vanguard*, the *Alcedo*, the *Affection*,<sup>1</sup> and three hoys or drumlers, should anchor before St. Mary Port to secure the galleys from giving annoyance to the fleet or impediment to the companies in their landing. And, as it was

<sup>1</sup> The *Alcedo* was the largest of the London 'men-of-war' (*S.P. Dom.* cclvii. 60). The *Affection* is not mentioned in any list.

afterwards informed, this morning, athwart of Lagos, the English armada was descried from the land, the news thereof sent post to Seville, and from thence to Calis.

The wind freshed up with so prosperous a gale as it brought the fleet on Sunday, the 20th of this month, by early days into the entrance of the Road at Calis, which opportunity to assault the enemy's fleet if it had been according to that advantage taken, no doubt with a more glorious victory they had been conquered, and the generals possessed of an inestimable treasure.

The resolution of the last council was pursued, and the fleet came to anchor over against the Caleta,<sup>1</sup> or indraught between the fort St. Sebastian and Santa Catarina, a place thought to be commodious for the army to make their descent.

*The Land Army being unshipped, by reason of the storm, was forced to return aboard.*

The General Essex, with great expedition, disembarked the land companies into the barges and long-boats. In which mean time the storm increased, and the billows became so huge, as Sir Walter Raleigh advised the general to retreat: finding the impossibility of landing without too great advantage to the enemies and assured loss of many of his soldiers, as well by the furious seas as the enemy's sword; for that the Rainbow's long-boat was overturned in this storm, and 15 of her men drowned. And albeit the forces that could be gathered in the town were armed and drawn down to that place to prevent their landing, yet such was their vility and baseness, as when some hoys of

<sup>1</sup> MS. Calliet.

small draught, that were appointed to ply near the shore for the succour of the ship boats, did discharge their ordnance amongst the enemies' troops, in sight they for fear threw down their arms, and in great numbers abandoned their guards. The danger was more of drowning by the rolling billow in this storm than otherways, the place of descent being rocky and uneven. Which advice of return was followed, and the companies embarked again.

Before night the General Essex weighed anchor, and fell further into the Bay of Calis, whom the rest followed, where, riding at a good distance from the Spanish fleet, there passed that evening interchangeably some roving needless shot from the fort St. Philip and from the ships and galleys upon the Repulse, the Mary Rose, and the Alcedo; which ships rid nearest unto the enemy's fleet and forts.

In this mean time divers of the Spanish merchants set sail, plying in farther, for more safety, towards Port Royal.

The lords and selected council met that night aboard the Repulse, to resolve the manner of their assault upon the Spanish fleet, suspending their attempt of the town.

*Directions in what manner and by whom the Spanish fleet should be assaulted.*

The Lord Admiral was so jealous of her Majesty's greatest ships, as he would by no means consent that the two admirals nor the Merhonour should be engaged in this attempt; advising the Lord Thomas Howard, for this time, to acquit the Merhonour, and to go aboard the Nonpareil: that Sir Walter Raleigh in the Warspite,<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Vere in the Rainbow, Sir George Carew in the

<sup>1</sup> MS. Wastspite.

Mary Rose, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lion, Captain Crosse in the Swiftsure, and the Admiral of Holland with some merchant ships and Dutch men-of-war, should undertake the fight: That Sir John Wingfield in the Vanguard (a ship thought fittest for that service) should encounter the galleys, and that the lords generals with the rest of the fleet should be under sail, but not to come in danger, unless the undertakers should be in peril.

Whilst these things were in consultation, early in the morning the rest of the Spanish fleet (consisting of the King's armadoes) set sail, and fell in farther into the harbour to the height of Puntal; to which strait these great ships of war, under the guard of the galleys and land forts, retreated, mooring their broadsides towards the English fleet, to fight to their most advantage: The number and quality of which fleet consisted of these ships following:

*The number and quality of the Spanish fleet  
within the harbour of Calis.*

The San Felipe, admiral, commanded by Don Diego de Sotomayor.

The San Matias, vice-admiral, the Captain Don Juan de Alcega.

The San Tomaso.

The San Andrés.

The admiral of Nueva España, commanded by [Luis] Alfonso Flores, captain-general of the Indian fleet.<sup>1</sup>

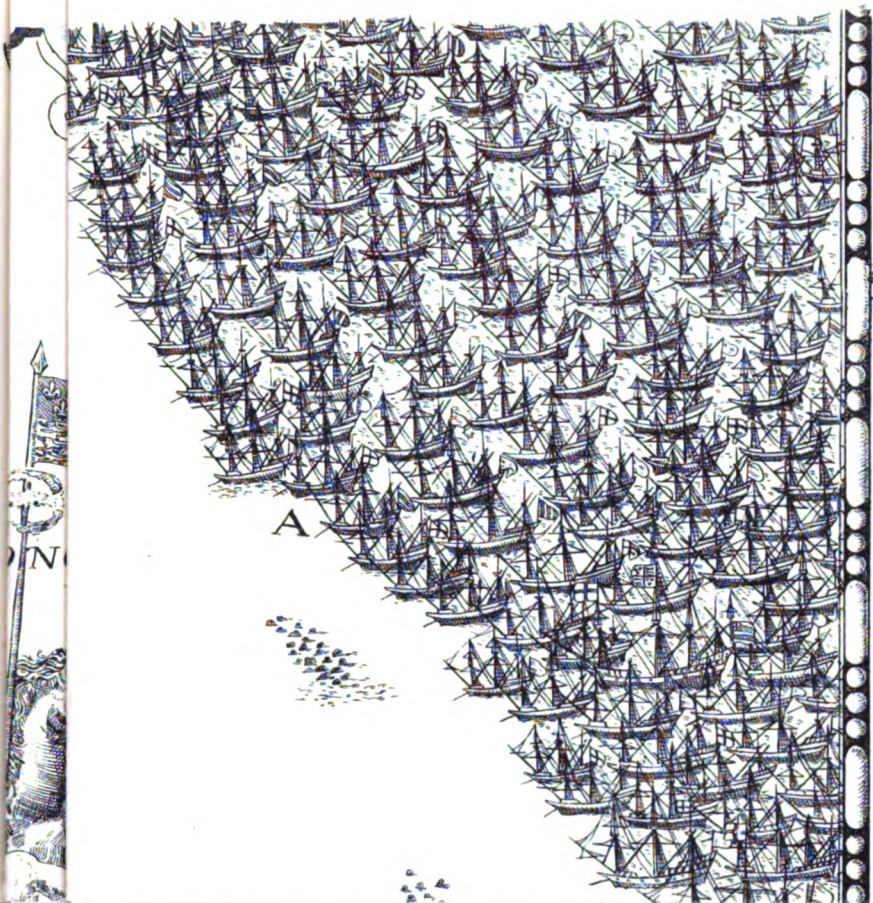
The vice-admiral of Nueva España.

The rear-admiral of Nueva España.

Two great galleons from Lisbona.

Four great Biskayan ships of war.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the flota of New Spain or Mexico.



## DESCRIPTION

Thomas Cocksonus  
Sculptfit

SS by reason of shallowness of water flying up the  
 ch the  
 T they returned from about the Island through the  
 ks and Azco sailing to Rota and other towns on the coast.  
 some 300 high towers, which as some feign to be Hercules  
 TT in las Almadronas de Hercules; the other tower or  
 V miles to the southward in a point of sand lying out  
 W it bay between them.  
 ex and cks lying at full sea under water called Las Puercas.  
 eons os riding in this place, which upon suspicion they had  
 X Wilford, by direction of the Lord Marshal, was sent  
 ding t soldiers to cut their cables at their hawse and to let  
 Y Sral accompanied with my Lord Thomas Howard,  
 rd Ge ed with soldiers going to save the King's galleons  
 amiral, the Spaniards which did hang on ropes at their  
 rd Th . of our men.  
 quadro  
 rspite, the St. Thomas did set herself on fire.

Rainb  
 n, wh  
 ds Ge

\* Text, 'Los Puercos.  
 \* Effaced.

MS. al pron  
 a. nted by THOMAS PURFOOT.



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Three frigates of the King's.  
Three Ragusians, called Argosies.

In all, of ships of war, 19.

With 36 good merchant ships laden for the West Indies, with 6,000 pipes of wine, 2,000 pipes of oil, 5,000 kintals of wax, and other rich merchandise, of cloth of gold, silks, linen, broadcloth, and quicksilver: estimated to the value of 11 or 12 millions of ducats; besides 19 galleys of the best of that kingdom, viz.:

*The names and numbers of galleys there found.*<sup>1</sup>

The Capitana, admiral, commanded by Don Juan de Portocarrero, lieutenant to the Adelantado.<sup>2</sup>

The Ocasión, the Captain Don Cristófero Sanchez, with whom was the Marquess de Sta. Cruz.

The Padilla, the Captain Don Juan de Osorio de Bracamonte.

The Patrona, the Captain Don Diego de Mendoza, nephew to the Duke of Infantazgo.

The Fama, the Captain Don Juliano Hurtado.

The Eugenia, the Captain Don Gonsalvo.

The Luna, the Captain Medina.

The Manriques, the Captain Don Garcia.

The Sta. Barbara, the Captain Alcate.

The Española.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *State Papers, Domestic*, cclix. 25, is a similar list of twenty galleys drawn up with very remarkable phonetic spelling by Captain Robert Crosse.

<sup>2</sup> Don Juan Portocarrero was acting as lieutenant to the Adelantado in his capacity as Capitan General Proprietario of the galleys of Spain.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Spagnola. The spelling of Spanish names in the MS. is mostly in the Italian fashion, and has been corrected in the text as far as possible on the authority of Captain Fernandez Duro's *Armada Española* and the *Documentos Inéditos*.

The Leona, the Captain Ernando de Sarita.

The Bassana, the Captain Don Antonio de Jubilar.

The Fortezza.

The Esperanza, the Captain Don Diego Ordoñez.

The Temeraria, the Captain Sepeda.

The Leyva,<sup>1</sup> the Captain Vergas.

The Serena, the Captain Badillo.

The Santiago, the Captain Don Juan de Arango.

*To Sir Walter Raleigh was given the point for that day's enterprise.<sup>2</sup>*

To Sir Walter Raleigh was given the point for that day's enterprise, who with great bravery led in the fleet in pursuit of the enemy. Sir Francis Vere followed, and not without emulation, with good testimony of his valour, running in close aboard the shore within cannon shot of the forts, and in continual fight with the galleys, until they were come so near the Spanish fleet as the channel would give them leave, where they came to anchor, renewing the fight by a terrible battery side to side, within culverin shot.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'Lyeva.'

<sup>2</sup> There is some doubt about this. Some authorities say Lord Thomas Howard claimed the 'point,' *i.e.* the lead, as his right as vice-admiral, and Slingisbie himself has already mentioned him as the first on the list of those 'by whom the Spanish fleet was to be assaulted.'

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph is important as giving colour to the complaints, which some of Raleigh's enemies made, that he anchored at first much too far out. 'Extreme culverin range' was 2,500 paces, which the seamen of Drake's school would regard as hardly being in action at all. The excuse of shoal water is the same which is generally attributed to him, and which afterwards proved no obstacle to his going close in. It is the only passage which points to Slingisbie's having been inspired from Raleigh's

The Lord General Essex being ambitious of honour (contrary to their determination in council), not long after the fight began, came in with the Repulse to the forefoot of the foremost. The burthen of that day's service consisting principally of these 9 ships, viz. : The Lord General Essex his ship, Sir Walter Raleigh's, Sir Francis Vere's, Sir Robert Southwell's, the Lord Thomas Howard's, Sir George Carew's, Sir Conyers Clifford's, Captain Crosse's, and the admiral of the *Hollanders*, for such was the strait that the rest of the fleet were unprofitable.

About three hours after the fight began, the Lord Admiral, understanding the Earl of Essex to be gone in (being now unable to come up in his own ship, which was pestered up amongst the gross of the fleet afar off), went aboard the *Merhonour*, which ship Sir Robert Dudley had by that time brought within culverin shot.

The galleys in a short time fell off, and durst not maintain the place they had ; and at six hours' end, whilst the headmost ships of the English fleet put forth their warps to lay the enemy aboard upon the opportunity of the young flood, the *San Felipe*, the *San Matias*, the *San Andrés*, and the *San Tomaso*, by negligence and fear coming aground, were abandoned by the Spaniards, and the last that forsook the *San Matias* and the *San Tomaso* left the fire burning to consume them, to the unspeakable triumph and glory of the English army, then assured of victory.

Out of every ship they fled to shore, some by the help of their longboats, others by wading and swimming, to save their lives. But the *San Matias*

side rather than from that of Essex, and is a valuable testimony of his ingeniousness. For in endeavouring to compliment Raleigh he confirms the main charge against him.

and the San Andrés were so speedily assaulted as they were taken entire, with all their munitions aboard, and brought into England; and the year following employed in her Majesty's service.

*The Spanish Fleet discomfited and overthrown.*

At that instant the admiral of Nueva España, a ship of 1,200 tons, set herself on fire, whilst the English boarded an argosy, spoiled her of her lading and munitions, and set her on fire. In which ship, with the 2 galleons, there was found aboard them 120 pieces of brass ordinance.

The loss the English had in this sea fight did not exceed 40 persons, all slain with the great shot, besides the blowing up of the Dolphin of Rotterdam by the mischance of fire, taken in the powder room, to the destruction of William Henryck, the captain, his two sons, and about 100, being all his company, some 3 or 4 excepted.

And of a small pinnace of Sir Robert Southwell's, which laid the San Felipe aboard, whilst she was burning, with whom she took fire, but saved her men by the ships' boats that came in to her succour.

The residue of the Spanish fleet, two days after, by the express commandment of the Duke of Medina (to the number of 50 sail) were set on fire.

*If the victory over the fleet had been pursued, the ship and galleys had been taken full of munition and rich merchandise.*

Which victory if it had been pursued according to the opportunity and advantage presented, that rich fleet had been taken unburnt, and the galleys intercepted of their escape, the gaining of which galleys (being the whole store of the Spanish King's on this side the Straits) would have been of an

infinite damage unto him, besides the glory and profitable use of them upon the coasts of Spain and Portugal by daily incursions, to their great annoyance.

*The Land Army unshipped the same day.*

The Lord General Essex hasted on the attempt of the town of Calis; and did suddenly disembark of his land companies to the number of 3,000,<sup>1</sup> of every regiment a part, landing them on the east side of the town without resistance close by the port of Puntal, the which upon his approach was by the Spaniards acquitted. In their places the Hollanders entered, and advanced their colours.

The Earl, with great expedition, marshalled his companies into order, and marched over to the south shore of the island, from which place the enemy sallied forth (as well horse as foot), where, by the advantage of the higher ground, they took a view of the English troops.

That side of the town was well defended with a high wall, ranging from sea to sea, well fortified with bulwarks, rampiers, curtains, and counterscarps, some few ordnance mounted, all under the guard of the garrison of horse and foot, consisting of the number following :

*The Spanish Garrisons and the Supplies within the Town of Cales.*

Don Antonio Giron y Zuniga, Corregidor of

Calis, Captain of a company of . . .	150
Don Martino de Arrigo, Captain of . . .	150

<sup>1</sup> Vere, who, as Lord Marshal, had the best means of knowing, says 'not fully 2,000,' and Don Luis de Guzman, the Spanish officer who made the official report to the King, says he was satisfied after full inquiry they could not have been more than 2,000, and some said less.—*Documentos Inéditos*, xxxvi. 240, 249. A later Spanish report gives 16 companies of about 80 men each besides officers and volunteers (*ibid.* p. 308).

Don Bartholomeo de Majo, Captain of . . .	150
Don Nuno di Villa Vicenza il Vejo, Captain of . . .	150
Don Christofero Maruff, Captain of . . .	150
Don Hernando de Guarines, Captain of the fort San Felipe, with his Biskayans . . .	150
Don Francisco Quarte Capo Verde, Portugals . . .	150
Don Agostino di Casanova, Genoese . . .	150
Henriquez Bricart, with a company of Fle- mings . . .	150
Besides of the burgers armed . . .	1,150
Don Raphael di Spinola, Genoese, commanded the garrison of Xeres, commonly called Los Caballeros de Xeres, or Militia de San Pietro, sent the day before, with the great standard of Xeres . . .	100
Don Christophano della Quena, with 200 gentlemen adventurers of the best in Spain sent thither . . .	200
The Corregidor of Arcos with a troop of horse . . .	80
Don Juan de Deon, with a company from Bejer <sup>1</sup> . . .	80
Don Juan de la Serva, commanded 40 horse sent from Chiclana, and 30 horse of Calis . . .	70

*Three regiments sent to the bridge and the other  
three to attempt the town.*

The Lord General Essex divided his forces and sent a part thereof under the command of Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Christopher Blount, and Sir Thomas Gerrard, towards the Puente de Suazo, to assure that passage, lest the enemy from the main should interrupt the assault of the town. And perceiving by the countenance of the horse and foot in view, that they purposed to charge and impeach his

<sup>1</sup> MS. Bexell.

approach, he advanced his forces, and gave charge to Sir John Wingfield to draw forth 50 pikes and 50 muskets and to march afore, to discover the passage and to make stand against the enemy's charge, lest they should at the first fall upon the gross of the army. Upon him the horse companies, flanked with some musketeers, giving on bravely in a swift career, being near approached, Don Nuno de Villa Vicenza (one of their leaders) was overthrown with the fall of his horse, who (albeit divers of his company came in to his rescue) was, before he could recover his horse, wounded by Sir John Wingfield. By which fall the troops were so discomfited, as they retreated as fast as they came forward. And such was their fear in the town, that as the army entered pell-mell with them, they shut out of the gates above forty of their horse companies. These, foresaking their horses, did climb the walls for their safeties, and taught the English to climb for their overthrow.

*Sir John Wingfield shot in the thigh in the town ditch.*

In this approach, Sir John Wingfield, whilst he was clearing the ditch, was shot in the thigh, and so speedily did the Earl second the enterprise, leading on the rest of the army, as he within a little time mounted the rampier in his own person, from whence divers gentlemen entered at sundry places, as the advantage of the wall gave opportunity, the enemy being beaten from the guard thereof.

Those that first entered opened the gates and gave an easy passage to the general with the army. To Sir Samuel Bagnoll, Sir Horatio Vere, and Sir Charles Percy was committed the leading of some companies towards the market-place. Others that



entered in by other streets were shot at from loopholes and windows, and sometimes encountered by the enemy's pikes in places of advantage. And many were wounded from the flat-roofed houses with stones tumbled down amongst them. Those that first possessed the market-place made stand until the general's coming with a supply to maintain it, but by that time few Spaniards appeared amongst them.

Some recovered the munition house, where they made resistance awhile, some the town house, some the fort San Felipe, and others (amongst whom were divers gentlemen of good quality) fled to the priory for safety, and into the castle or old town (divided with a high wall from the rest) was retired the substance of the inhabitants of all sorts, to the number of 8,000 or 10,000 people. The strength whereof defended them well from those ordinary executions and violences done by soldiers in their furies at such surprises.

*Sir John Wingfield shot in the head in the market-place, whereof he died.*

From one corner of this castle (which lay open upon the market-place) divers of the English were slain; and amongst the rest, Sir John Wingfield, now riding on a Spanish horse (by reason of his former wounds in the thigh), and leading on loose shot to beat all their loopholes and battlements, was shot in the head, wherewith he fell and instantly died; to whom exceeding great honour was due for his valour in that day's service, and he received an honourable funeral not long after, which was attended by the generals in their own persons, with the colonels and captains of the army, after a martial manner, to the cathedral church of Calis.

The Lord Marshal, in this mean time, marched on with some companies towards the Priory, to whose mercy (after some resistance) those gentlemen submitted themselves. From thence he went to the fort San Felipe, where that night he lodged some troops under it, so as in effect in one day these two glorious victories by sea and land were gained.

In the assault of the town Captain Bagnoll, Sir Edward Wingfield, Captain Hambridge, Captain Gerard Harvey, Captain Medkirk, with divers other gentlemen, were hurt, and there were slain about 40 soldiers. To Captain Bagnoll for his extraordinary valour the Lord General Essex that night gave him the honour of knighthood.

*The Lord Admiral landed the rest of the army  
and neglected the pursuit of the fleet.*

That day also the Lord Admiral (accompanied with the Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh), having his colours carried by Sir Edward Hoby<sup>1</sup> (notwithstanding the Lord General Essex, after the disembarking of the first troops, had by a message sent by Mr. Ashley advised him to pursue the victory of the Spanish fleet so discomfited), landed his regiment with the remainder of the army and marched without resistance into the town of Calis. After whose repair the new town was quartered amongst the colonels, who kept good guard that night.

*A parley for the rendering of the castle to the  
generals.*

The next morning, upon the walls of the castle or old town a flag of truce was hung forth, and a treaty by the lords generals granted. Whereupon

<sup>1</sup> MS. Hobby.

the Corregidor of the town, with five more of the best sort, were admitted to the presence of the generals, and it was then agreed that the Spaniards should forthwith render the castle and pay within twelve days for the ransom of the lives of all the persons within it in one gross sum 120,000 ducats, and that there should be selected and delivered up as pledges for the performance thereof fifty of the chief and of the best in ability amongst them. Of which number they made suit for leave to employ eight to Seville to procure the ransom. After this contract was interchangeably subscribed, the keys of the castle were delivered to Captain Arthur Savage, the commander of the Lord General Essex his company, wherewith he entered and undertook the guard thereof, therewithal receiving the honour of knighthood from the Lord General Essex.

That day also the fort San Felipe, the priory, the munition house, and the town house were surrendered to the mercy of the generals.

Which done, order was given to put forth the inhabitants of the town of all sorts. Those of the meaner quality were sent to the Puente de Suazo with good guard, to pass over into the mainland.

Those of the better sort (and especially the gentlewomen) were by commandment from the Lords Generals honourably entreated and conducted to the waterside to be embarked for St. Mary Port, which course continued until there were no Spanish inhabitants left in the town.

*The bridge being abandoned, the galleys made their escape.*

That morning also Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Christopher Blount, and Sir Thomas Gerrard, having had intelligence that the town was won, marched with their regiments to Calis from the Puente de

Suazo, where they had lodged the night before ; and true it is that other direction they had not than to make that place good and to stop the enemy's approach and attempt upon the rear of the army from the main. But whether out of discontentment that they missed the opportunity to show their valours amongst the rest in this surprise, or that they had lost the benefit of purchase by ransacking the town, they neglected the detaining of the galleys impounded in that strait. All which, immediately upon their departures, passed through an arch of that bridge by one and one till they had all recovered the broad sea. In which night's service they lost some men, shot from the castle adjoining, called Herod's House, and from the galleys. But they had a greater loss by leaving behind them some of their soldiers drunk with the sack of that island, to have their throats cut by the enemies.

*Sir Edward Conway made offer with some land companies in longboats to surprise the rest of the Spanish fleet in time lest they should burn themselves, as they did afterwards.*

Both the generals being thus employed in the town, the pursuit of the Spanish fleet was neglected, notwithstanding they were put in mind of the great riches was aboard them by Sir Edward Conway, who made offer (by the assistance of some selected captains with their land companies and with their longboats) to assail them, the which Sir Walter Raleigh opposed, as a service more properly belonging to the seamen. In the mean time the Corregidor of Calis, together with the Committees of the Contractacion<sup>1</sup> House, made offer of three millions of ducats for the ransom of the fleet, of purpose to

<sup>1</sup> MS. Contraction.

defer the enterprise, and to give them opportunity night and day to carry ashore their short ends and richest merchandise ; which being done, even during the treaty, by the command of the Duke of Medina the residue of the Spanish fleet was set on fire and the generals utterly defeated of that infinite riches, consisting of shipping, merchandise, and munition.

*At the first consultation it was thought fit to keep the town.*

After the generals had a while quietly possessed the town, they held a council, at which it was disputed whether the same were fit to be kept or acquitted. By most voices it was thought to be both tenable and fit to be maintained. Whereupon order was given to unship the artillery and munitions aboard for the better fortification thereof. And it was resolved to dispatch Mr. Ashley to her Majesty in England to certify the state thereof and to return with her further pleasure. And likewise to send Sir Edward Hoby to the King of Morocco for his assistance with galleys, men, and victuals as occasion should require. But these purposes at the next council were changed and a stay made of these proceedings.

All this while the soldiers and mariners continued pillaging and daily transporting of goods and merchandises of all natures according to the fortune or means they had to come by them.

Whilst the generals and council were assembled there was presented unto them three captains of Spanish galleys, with letters from Don Juan de Portocarrero, lieutenant to the Adelantado of Castilia, the contents whereof were to entreat the delivery of some Spanish prisoners in exchange for English prisoners and captains in their hands.

In answer whereof the lords generals returned Captain Crosse, Captain Watson, and Captain Middleton with their letters to Don Juan, who then lay at Port St. Mary's, signifying thereby that they had already ransomed so many as they had purpose to deliver, and that they had freely released thousands of the meaner sort, so as if Don Juan would send them such English captives as he had they would take it in good part; if not, he should find they had a care of their countrymen.

By these captains Don Juan sent answer that the next day he would dispatch an express messenger unto their lordships of his purpose; and did accordingly employ Don Diego de Mendoza, brother's son to the Duke of Infantasgo, accompanied with the Conde de Ribadeo, Don Antonio de Velasco, son to the Viceroy of Peru, Captain Pedro de Vergas, and three other gentlemen, to the lord generals, by whom they were honourably received; and with them a contract was made for the exchange of 50 English prisoners for so many Spanish at that time remaining in the town.

The first Sunday after the possession of the town, and after due solemnity of divine service, the lords generals gave honours to such gentlemen as had, by well deserving in this action, merited the same, and by their several swords made that day these knights following.

*The honour of knighthood given to these  
noblemen and gentlemen.*

*The Knights made.<sup>1</sup>*

\*Don Christofero, \*Count Lodowick of  
Prince of Portugal. Nassau, of Holland.

<sup>1</sup> In the following list Slyngisbie's spelling of the surnames is

*The Earl of Sussex.	*Sir Charles Blount.
The Lord William Herbert.	Sir George Gifford.
*The Lord Burk of Ireland.	Sir Robert Cross.
*Sir William Howard,	*Sir James Skidmore. <sup>4</sup>
son to the Lord Admiral.	*Sir Urian Leigh.
Sir George Devereux.	Sir Richard Weston.
Sir Henry Nevile.	Sir Richard Wayneman.
Sir Edwin Rich.	*Sir James Wotton.
*Sir Melchior Levan, <sup>1</sup> of Holland.	*Sir Richard Ruddall.
*Sir Peter Rigamortis, <sup>2</sup> of Holland.	Sir Robert Mansell.
*Sir Anthony Ashley.	Sir William Monson.
Sir Henry Leonard.	*Sir John Bowles.
*Sir Horatio Vere.	Sir Edward Bowes.
*Sir Richard Lewson. <sup>3</sup>	Sir Humphrey Drewell.
Sir Arthur Throgmorton.	*Sir Amias Preston.
Sir Miles Corbett.	Sir Robert Remington.
*Sir Edward Conway.	*Sir John Buck.
*Sir Oliver Lambert.	Sir John Morgan.
Sir Anthony Cooke.	*Sir John Aldrich. <sup>5</sup>
Sir John Townsend.	*Sir John Shelton.
*Sir Christopher Haydon.	*Sir William Ashenden.
*Sir Francis Popham.	Sir Mathew Browne.
Sir Philip Woodhouse.	*Sir Thomas Acton.
Sir Alexander Clifford.	*Sir Thomas Gates.
*Sir Maurice Barkley.	Sir Gellye Merrick.
	Sir Thomas Smith.
	Sir William Poolye.
	*Sir Thomas Palmer.
	*Sir John Stafford.
	Sir Robert Lovell.
	Sir John Gilbert.

retained. Those marked \* were knighted by Essex ; the rest by Howard, *S. P. Dom.* cclix. 83. The name of Sir John Lee, or Leigh, also knighted by Essex, should be added to the above.

<sup>1</sup> Birch has Lebben ; Hakluyt, Leven.

<sup>2</sup> Birch has Regemorter ; other lists Egomort and Egomart.

<sup>3</sup> Leveson.

<sup>4</sup> Birch has Scudamore ; Hakluyt, Escudamor.

<sup>5</sup> Usually spelt Aldridge.

*Sir William Harvey knighted.*

The next day the lords general knighted Sir William Harvey, and towards evening entered into a new consultation upon the former proposition of holding or abandoning the town, where, upon the examination of the state of their victuals (what with that was found in the town of rice, corn, sugar, wine, rusk, and oil, together with their own store aboard the ships that might be spared), means was found to leave four months' victuals for 3,000 or 4,000 soldiers, which was thought to be a competent garrison for the maintaining of that place; and that during that time, supplies of men, victuals, and munitions might be procured from England, the Low Countries, and Barbary. Whereupon the judgment was, that it was fit to be holden; that the admirals<sup>1</sup> and weakest ships should return for England; and that the Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, and four more of the Queen's ships, together with a competent number of other ships to attend them, should go for the Islands, and there expect the return of the Indian fleets. To this determination the opinion of the colonels was demanded, and by them well approved, adjudging the town fit to be holden, and easy to be defended.

*The Lord General Essex refused to keep the town unless himself might be left governor, to which the Lord Admiral would not consent.*

Notwithstanding this general agreement to hold the town, the Lord General Essex absolutely refused to give his consent that there should be any other governor left there than himself, pretending that his credit with her Majesty would not be able

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the flagships.



to procure supplies in due time for any other. Howbeit he did assure himself so much of her Majesty's favour towards him as she would not suffer him to perish in that defence.

Against this protestation there was no contradiction, saving a general disassent to adventure his person in that service, without whose company the Lord Admiral did absolutely refuse to return into England. This difference did at last beget a resolution to acquit the place.

Before their departures thence the Lord General Essex thought fit to draw forth some companies of horse and foot, and to march into the island to see what countenance the enemy held, he being informed that at Herod's House, near to the bridge, the enemy was assembled in good numbers, the bridge being left free for their passage into the island. They did accordingly march out (without sound of drum) towards the evening, with 29 companies of foot and his own cornet<sup>1</sup> of 80 horse, all knights and gentlemen of good quality, within a league of the bridge, leaving the town for the time under the government of Sir George Carew, general of the artillery.

His lordship made halt there with the army and sent a company of foot in the night to lie in ambuscado under the castle of Herod's House on the one side, approaching himself with his horse towards the other side. By break of day some soldiers were let loose to burn and spoil some garden houses close to the castle wall, in hope to draw out the enemy within their ambuscadoes; but such was the fear or rather discovery of their danger, as they were readier to fly than to resist. So that the general, finding that by no means they

<sup>1</sup> MS. Coronett.

would be drawn forth, marched back to the town, and was no sooner gone but the enemy quitted the place, running over the bridge into the main, and leaving the spoil thereof to some wandering Hollanders, ranging abroad for booty.

*Sir John Gray, Sir Alexander Redcliffe, Sir Bald. Medkirk, Sir Ger. Harvey, knighted.*

In his return his lordship gave the honour of knighthood to Sir John Gray and Sir Alexander Radcliffe, and after he was come to Calis he knighted Sir Baldwyn Medkirk and Sir Gerard Harvey.

By this time the twelve days' respite given for the payment of the great ransom was expired ; but the deputies sent to Seville to procure it neither returned with message nor with money. This was supposed to be done by express commandment from the King, willing to protract the time, to the end they might the better prepare the coast by clearing the weakest parts, and reinforcing the ports and places defendable. Whereupon his lordship resolved to ship the forty-two pledges remaining, by two and three in several ships, whose names were as followeth :—

*The names of the pledges delivered who were brought into England and made payment, which was divided betwixt the two generals and the great officers of the army.<sup>1</sup>*

Don Antonio Giron y Zuniga, Corregidor of Cales.  
Don Bartholomeo d'Amaja.

<sup>1</sup> In the following list the spelling of the MS. has been retained except in the case of the names marked with asterisks, which have been corrected from Spanish authorities.

- \*Don Nuno de Villa Vicenza el Vejo.  
 Don Bartholomeo (set on land at  
 the Groyne, by reason of his  
 sickness). Both the sons of  
 Don Nuno.\*
- Don Juan.
- Don Diego de Pollança. Martino Usquiano, a  
 Don Francisco, his son. Biscayner.
- Don Amphilon Boqume. Antonio Henriques, a  
 Jacomo de Soveramis, a Portuguese, Comen-  
 Genoese. dador de Christo.
- \*Don Nuno de Villa \*Garcia Nuñez.  
 Vicenza el Alto. Christophano Chyrinos.  
 Pedro de Corbas. Pasqual de Maiolo.
- Don Diego de Mendoza. Pedro Garzia del Monte.  
 de los Cameros. Don Mathias Videll
- \*Don Francisco de Tru- Boqume.  
 xillo, Ponce de Leon. Marco Centurion.
- Henriquez Vaes de Bar- Christophano Maruff.  
 gas. Juan Beneditto Comodo.
- Don Bartholomeo de Don Diego de Mendoza  
 Amaja. Santitis, Chantre de  
 \*Don Alvares Ponce de Calis.  
 Leon. El Arcediano de Me-  
 Alonso de Vaesa. dina Sidonia.<sup>1</sup>
- Hernando de Vaesa. El Canonico Morero.
- Diego de Vaesa. Martin de Haya, Cano-  
 Gil de la Zerpe. nico de Calis.
- Pedro Leonell. El Racionero <sup>2</sup> Paraseta.
- Pedro Nunias, who died El Racionero Pedro  
 at sea. Dias Sarco.
- Gonsalo Xuares de El Racionero de Mayolo.  
 Ayala. El Tesorero della Eglisa  
 de Caliz.

<sup>1</sup> His name was Fernando de Aguayo.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* 'prebendary.'

*The town acquitted and fired, and the army shipped again for England.*

Sunday morning, the 4th of July, 14 days after the winning of the town, order was first given to draw forth of every regiment 30 soldiers to set fire in all places, the cathedral church and friary excepted. The one was by her Majesty's instructions, and the other at the suit of the friars upon their promises to procure the release of such English prisoners and captives as were at Seville.

The sick and hurt soldiers were placed aboard the ships that were appointed with them to make their best speed for England.

The army was shipped by regiments, orderly ; the which the Earl saw performed, being himself the last man ashore. And before night the fleet set sail, and came again to anchor in the road of Caliz ;<sup>1</sup> in all which time of the stay of the English armies (notwithstanding the great levies made of Spanish soldiers in sundry places thereabouts under the command of the Duke of Medina, to the number of 30 or 40 thousand), yet there was never so much as any alarm given by sea or land to interrupt or annoy them.

The next day a galley sent from Don Juan de Portocarrero presented 39 English captives to the generals, promising to send all that were at Seville and St. Lucar with all possible expedition.

The wind was scant and calm, so as the fleet made but little way upon the Spanish coast, but after they were put to sea the lords generals and council assembled aboard the Ark, to consult of further enterprise. And it was then determined

<sup>1</sup> In this case the author has written Cales and corrected to Caliz.

that the army should be landed at Ayamonte, the which being surprised, they should march to Tavilla, and from thence to Faro, where the fleet was to meet them.

But the next day, upon better consideration and fear lest the fleet might be there embayed (it being but 8 leagues to the east of Cape Sta. Maria), they changed counsels and directed their courses for Faro.

*Sir Ant. Ashley dispatched into England to the Queen.*

From thence Sir Anthony Ashley was dispatched to her Majesty with the relation of their success in this voyage thus far forth. And the Earl of Sussex, by reason of extreme sickness, had leave to return with him, together with the rest of the sick and hurt soldiers of the army.

The Spanish galleys attended the fleet afar off, to the number of 11, who, taking the advantage of a dead calm, seized a hoy of the Lord Thomas Howard's, laden with sick men and horses, in the view of the fleet unable to succour her, and after some resistance with loss of both parts the galleys towed her into Villa Nueva.

The 13th day, the fleet came to anchor on the west side the Cape St. Mary's, where the army was again disembarked, and the Lord Admiral pressed on his turn to have the honour to lead them to the town of Faro. Which being granted, his lordship finding the heat to be extreme, the march 10 miles long, and the indisposition of his body great, was intreated to return to the charge of the fleet and leave the army to the sole command of the Lord General Essex, who that night encamped close aboard the shore.

*The army landed, marched to Faro, and burnt the town without resistance.*

The next morning the army was divided into 16 battalions, marching in fair order towards the town, without resistance or view of an enemy. And to Sir Christopher Blount the vanguard was allotted, to whose colours all the principal knights and gentlemen-adventurers did resort. Whereof the Earl having intelligence, and of so brave a troop assembled, left his own regiment and led these, accompanied with the Prince of Portugal, Justin de Nassau,<sup>1</sup> the Lord Thomas Howard, and the general of the artillery, Sir George Carew.

Being arrived at Faro, they found the town abandoned, and the inhabitants with their goods fled to the mountains, who were that night pursued by Captain Brett, Sir Clement Higham, and Captain Garrett by several ways with some selected soldiers to the number of 7 or 800 men, three leagues beyond the town, but could not overtake them within that distance. Nevertheless they met with some pillage of small value and with oxen and sheep, wherewith they next day returned, and the cattle were by order distributed to refresh the army.

After the munition which was found in the town, consisting of 7 or 8 cannon and culverin of brass, was there embarked, and the town set on fire in all places, the army marched back again to the landing-place to be shipped anew.

In this mean time the Spanish galleys that attended the fleet came to an anchor not far from the Lord Admiral's ship, upon pretence to treat for the redemption of Don Diego Cabezza de Vacca,

<sup>1</sup> MS. Justinian.

prisoner with the English ; of whose approach so near his Lordship had some jealousy, and therefore gave them warning to keep a greater distance at their perils, which they durst not but observe.

The army being shipped anew, the lords and council met aboard the Ark, where the attempt of Lagos was propounded. But the Lord Admiral had intelligence that the place was well walled, lately supplied with a good garrison, and on the rampiers 50 pieces of artillery mounted, whereby it was not to be surprised without great loss, and not at all without unshipping their cannon. So as of necessity much time would be spent in this enterprise.

The Lord Admiral hasted on the return of the fleet for England without any further attempt upon Lagos. And it was in council resolved that the fleet should double the Cape St. Vincent and go for the Rock, there water, and spend some time off and on in that height, to attend the return of the Portugal carracks, or otherwise shape their courses for England, as there, upon a new consultation, should be found convenient.

The Cape was no sooner doubled but the wind blew up in a fresh gale at east, wherewith the fleet sailed amain to seaward. This occasioned a new assembly of the council, and it was then agreed that the wind being so prosperous they should accept the opportunity and run their course for the island of St. Michael in the Azores,<sup>1</sup> which island was esteemed rich. That there would be good hopes to meet either with the East Indian or West Indian fleets, and an assured means to water their own ships, whereof they then had want. Nevertheless, with this reservation, that if by reason of change of winds they could not make good that island, that

<sup>1</sup> MS. Azories.

then they should tack about and run their course for England.

*Sir Arthur Savage dispatched to the Queen.*

And from this consultation Sir Arthur Savage was dispatched to her Majesty signifying this their purpose.

*Mr. George Buck dispatched to the Queen.*

The wind continued not long in this corner, whereby the fleet was forced to turn their prows into the northward. And for further consultation the council was again assembled aboard the Ark, where it was debated whether it were more fit to lie still for the carracks or return for England ; but finding the weak estate of the fleet, scant of victuals, and small store of fresh water, it was resolved they should stand for the North Cape, from thence send to discover what ships were in the harbour at the Groyne, and there to advise whether it should be fit to attempt them or to leave them unassailed. With this purpose and intention Mr. George Buck was dispatched into England to inform her Majesty thereof.

*No Spanish ship found at the Groyne.*

The first of August, the fleet came before the mouth of the harbour at the Groyne. Their Lordships sent in a caravel to discover what ships were in the same, but found none at all there left.

The last council was there assembled, and it was set down under the hands of the lords generals and council that the fleet should forthwith return for Plymouth, for these considerations following :

First, for that there was no shipping found in



the harbour at the Groyne, they thought it not fit to make there any other attempt.

Secondly, for that their victual and especially their beer and fresh water was almost spent.

Lastly, the consideration of the weak estate of the fleet, together with the number of sick soldiers and mariners, did require the same.

*Sir Edward Conway dispatched to the Queen.*

With which their final resolution, Sir Edward Conway was dispatched to her Majesty; and to know her further pleasure, whether upon their arrival she would keep together or cashier the army.

*The fleet arrived at Plymouth, and Sir Robert Dudley knighted.*

Which done, the lords generals with one sword gave the honour of knighthood to Sir John Duyvanvoord, admiral of the Hollanders. And immediately every commander returned to his ship, and every ship run his course for Plymouth, whereof some arrived there the 6th day of August, some the 7th, and the Earl of Essex with the remainder of the fleet the 8th day; who at his landing gave the honour of knighthood to Sir Robert Dudley.

# GLORIOUS ENGLAND

A RELATION  
OF THE  
BATTLE OF QUIBERON BAY

20TH NOVEMBER, 1759

*FROM THE PORTUGUESE*



## INTRODUCTORY

THE following is the translation of a Portuguese pamphlet of which the full title is:—

Inglaterra Gloriosa, ou Noticia da Batalha Naval  
que os Inglezes ganharaõ aos Francezes no dia  
21<sup>1</sup> de Novembro do anno proxime passado :  
e de outras Victorias conseguidas na Alemanha  
pelos Hanoverianos contra os Francezes. (1760.)

It is catalogued in the British Museum under 'England' (col. 1478), with the press mark 1196. c. 33 (23).

The account of the battle is by no means accurate, and notably in describing the relative force of the two fleets; as to which very gross misstatements had been spread abroad by the French, and, as has happened at other times, it did not—in England—seem worth any one's while to give them an authoritative contradiction. In his official letter of the 21st November,<sup>2</sup> Conflans wrote: 'Les ennemis étaient au nombre de 37, dont plusieurs à trois ponts;' and what was said to be a private letter from Conflans, circulated in Paris,<sup>3</sup> raised the number of English ships of the line to 60. Actually, there were with Hawke 23 ships of the line, of from 60 to 100 guns, and with Duff four 50-gun ships and six frigates, which could not and did not take any part in the battle. According to his own account, Conflans had with him 21,<sup>4</sup> of from 64 to 80 guns; but in weight of metal and number of crew a French 80-gun ship

<sup>1</sup> It is so printed.

<sup>2</sup> Troude, *Batailles navales de la France*, i. 401.

<sup>3</sup> Entick, *History of the late War* (1763), iv. 274; Beatson, *Naval and Military Memoirs*, iii. 247.

<sup>4</sup> Troude, i. 388.

of the period was at least equal to an English ship of 100 guns ; and according to the ideas so commonly held at the present day—though not by Hawke in 1759—the French fleet, by size of ships and weight of guns, was vastly the superior.

It is thus not so much for its account of the battle as for the indications of its significance to the foreigner, that this obscure pamphlet is here resuscitated. It is in no sense official, and as a narrative has no more value than any second or third hand report published by a newspaper of the present day. But its comments and summary are fair ; it appears to be honest, which is much more than can be said of most political pamphlets of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, either in England or anywhere else ; and it is of some interest to see how the Portuguese considered our position at this time and in the very critical years that had preceded it—years of which the Duke of Grafton afterwards wrote :<sup>1</sup>

‘Those persons who were not witnesses would hardly be brought to credit the degree of despondency which, from some time back till this moment,<sup>2</sup> prevailed almost universally through all ranks of people. I can never forget it, nor the indignation with which I, as a young man, viewed an alarm so foreign to the just character of the country. “The contention with the power of France,” too many usually argued, “was vain and hopeless,” and that “if we could fortuitously hold up against it for their own times, it would crown their highest expectations.” No less striking nor less wonderful was the almost instantaneous turn from that dejection which the nation soon demonstrated. Mr. Pitt’s spirit, vigour, and perseverance seemed to instil itself into the hearts of every individual, as well as of those employed in both services, in a manner more than natural, and this in every quarter of the globe. The consequences were security at home, and as complete success by sea and land as Britain has to boast.’

Some of us may think that Grafton, as a politician, has assigned more than the true value to Pitt’s influence.

<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Pitt’s return to office in conjunction with Newcastle, 29th June, 1757.

Hawke, as Captain Burrows has pointed out, had repeatedly shown that he needed no Pitt to instil spirit, or vigour, or perseverance into his heart ; and for the matter of that so had Boscawen and Saunders ; but there is no question but that both navy and army had been greatly demoralised, as well as disorganised, by Walpole's long administration, the baneful effects of which had been felt during the previous war,<sup>1</sup> and were threatening to continue during the present. It was thus well for the country that it had in high office a Minister who could be depended on to prescribe prompt measures and to approve energetic action. To Hawke, personally, it made little difference ; he was not a nominee of Pitt's, and between the two there was no love lost ; but it may well be that his subordinates were roused to increased exertion, and that in the service the sacred fire of devotion to duty which had been almost extinguished burnt with a purer and brighter flame.

A couple of pages at the end of the pamphlet which refer to the conduct of the war in Germany by the King of Prussia seemed foreign to my present purpose, and have been omitted.

As I conclude, it is my pleasing duty to acknowledge the assistance which I have received from Miss de Alberti in the labour of the translation.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mahan, *Types of Naval Officers*, Introduction.



## GLORIOUS ENGLAND

ACCOUNT of the naval battle won by the English over the French on the 21st November of last year ; and of other victories over the French won by the Hanoverians in Germany.

The present war began with events so fatal to Great Britain, that the blows which then fell upon England were by many deemed irreparable. The surrender of the island and fortress of Port Mahon, the disasters they experienced in America, the misfortunes in Asia, afforded reasonable grounds for the supposition that England's utter downfall was close at hand. The States of Hanover were invaded by one of the largest armies which ever passed from France into Germany ; and of the allies of England, some, threatened by innumerable enemies, appeared doomed to inevitable ruin, whilst others had been already driven from their possessions and forced to take refuge in different countries. Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel, Hesse-Cassel, and other lands belonging to the allies of England, felt the yoke of their enemies. England herself became the object of a most formidable enterprise. A great number of ships of war were being prepared in France ; as also three hundred flat-bottomed boats, capable of transporting 90,000 foot-soldiers ;

H 2



and the common report was that these preparations were being made with a view to effecting a landing in Great Britain. But the English, unshaken in their purpose, were intent only on prosecuting the war with honour, and finishing it with credit and reputation. They placed their whole trust on sea-power, counting it absolutely certain that they would be able to bring about an honourable peace if their fleets were formidable and numerous.

Notwithstanding what her enemies believed, England succeeded in getting together a navy of more than three hundred ships. The court of London sent fleets and squadrons to watch all the ports of France, and despatched reinforcements to America, Asia, and Africa; and thus, without danger of being annoyed or troubled, the English were able to maintain all their conquests.

Then the scene changed, and the British arms began to be victorious in the four quarters of the globe. In Asia, the French were obliged to raise<sup>1</sup> the siege of Madras with heavy loss, and several of their forts were captured. In Africa, the English reduced Senegal and other forts; in America they took the important island of Cape Breton and the very rich island of Guadeloupe; and after their arms had victoriously traversed the whole Lake<sup>2</sup> of St. Lawrence and Canada, they captured the fortress and city of Quebec, the capital of French America, after a pitched battle in which the French numbers were far greater than the English. In Germany, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick gloriously defeated the French army,<sup>3</sup> restoring liberty to the States of Hanover and others of their allies; and if fortune

<sup>1</sup> 17th February, 1759.

<sup>2</sup> Lago, meaning, of course, the River.

<sup>3</sup> At Minden, 1st August, 1759.

had not, in the present campaign, gone against England's most powerful ally,<sup>1</sup> there is no doubt that by this time the French would have been driven out of Germany.

In this state were the affairs of England, and yet there was a persistent report that France was resolved on effecting a landing in force, either in England itself, in Ireland, or in Scotland. Many were of opinion that in this France had no other design than to prevent England from sending any reinforcements to Germany, or from attempting anything with its fleet upon the coast of France. The British Ministry, however, prudently and carefully considering the position, and not underrating a powerful enemy, took measures for defending their own country and for attacking their enemy's. They furnished the whole coast of Great Britain with troops capable of opposing the projected landing of the French. They sent out divers fleets, some to watch those French ports in which there were men-of-war, and others to commit acts of hostility in France itself.<sup>2</sup> Admiral Boscawen, as valiant as he was fortunate, succeeded in destroying the Toulon fleet, commanded by M. de la Clue.<sup>3</sup>

England's only source of anxiety was then the Brest fleet, commanded by M. de Conflans. To hinder his designs, Admiral Hawke, with Admirals Hardy and Geary,<sup>4</sup> was sent to watch the port of Brest, with express orders to attack the French

<sup>1</sup> Sc. the King of Prussia, Frederick II., badly beaten at Kunersdorf on 12th August.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to refer rather to the campaign of 1758. There were no attacks on the French coast in 1759.

<sup>3</sup> 18th-19th August, 1759.

<sup>4</sup> Geary was with the fleet during the greater part of the summer and autumn, but was accidentally absent on the 20th November.

fleet, at all hazards, should it put to sea. On the 15th and 16th of November, several English frigates observed that the French fleet came out<sup>1</sup> of the port of Brest, and went in the direction of Quiberon Bay, where Commodore Duff was with eight ships of the line,<sup>2</sup> three frigates, two galliots, and two fireships. This skilful officer, being advised of the coming of the French, had time to retire and to join<sup>3</sup> Admiral Hawke's fleet.

The latter left the bay of Torbay on the 15th; on the 17th sighted<sup>4</sup> M. de Conflans' fleet, and on the 20th the two fleets met off Belle Isle. The sea was rough, and though it was impossible for the ships to form in line, at two in the afternoon the combat became general. Seven French ships refused the combat from the first, and retired<sup>5</sup> without firing a single gun. The *Soleil Royal*, of 80 guns, M. de Conflans' ship, was burnt upon the coast of Croisic, all the crew being rescued. The *Héros*, 80 guns, commanded by Vicomte de Sausay, met with the same fate. The *Juste*, commanded by Captain de Saint Allouarn, perished at Escoublac,<sup>6</sup> at the entrance of the Loire, only a small number of the crew being saved. The *Thésée* and *Superbe*, commanded by Captains de Kersaint and Montalais, sank during the battle. The *Formidable* was taken by the English, and the rest of the fleet escaped and took refuge, some in the road-

<sup>1</sup> Actually it came out on the 14th November.

<sup>2</sup> Not one; four 50-gun ships. See Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> No; he got away to the southward.

<sup>4</sup> No; on the 17th, off Ushant, Hawke had news that the French fleet was at sea; he did not sight it till the forenoon of the 20th.

<sup>5</sup> According to Troude: 'Sans avoir, pour ainsi dire, reçu un seul coup de canon.'

<sup>6</sup> Saint Allouarn and his brother, who was second captain, had both been killed in the fight.

stead of Isle d'Aix, and some in the river Vilaine. The English lost two ships, the *Resolution*, 74 guns, and the *Essex*, of 64, which were dashed to pieces upon the rocks of Croisic.<sup>1</sup> This loss was due to the fury of the wind rather than to the enemy, to whom the storm was a piece of great good fortune, as it prevented the English from giving formal battle, which would have resulted in the total defeat of the French fleet, as it was very inferior to that of the English. The French loss in dead, wounded, and prisoners amounted to 2,500 men,<sup>2</sup> while that of the English was not more than 250. The French fleet was composed of four ships of 80 guns, one of 76, five of 74, two of 70, and nine of 64; besides many frigates and other small vessels. The English fleet was composed of thirty-five ships of the line,<sup>3</sup> eighteen frigates, twelve galliots, nine fireships, &c.

The news was carried to the court of London by Captain Campbell, commander of the ship the *Royal George*, and was announced to the people by a general discharge of artillery. All the magistrates immediately waited upon his Majesty to congratulate him upon this important victory, the result of which was nothing less than the delivery of Great Britain from the projected landing of the French; especially as Admiral Hawke reported that he had detached some of his ships to block the mouth of the Vilaine; that with the rest of his fleet he chased several of the enemy's ships, which

<sup>1</sup> No; on the *Four*, a dangerous shoal, some five miles from Croisic—the *Resolution* about ten o'clock at night, long after the fighting had ceased; the *Essex*, the next morning in going to her assistance.

<sup>2</sup> The French reports do not state the numbers; their loss must have been much greater than this. See note on next page.

<sup>3</sup> No; but on this see the Introduction.

fled seawards; and that the day after the victory he was joined by Admiral Saunders with a fleet.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No; Saunders, on his way home from Quebec, heard that the French were out, and turned south to join Hawke; but on learning that the battle had been fought and won, resumed his course and put into Cork.

NOTE.—According to Hawke, the *Soleil Royal* had 1,200 men on board and the other 80's, 1,000. This, at any rate, he could verify, as he had the *Formidable* in his possession and wrote of her, on 2nd December :—‘As the number of men much wounded on board the *Formidable* was very great and very nauseous, I desired he [the Duc d’Aiguillon] would send vessels to take them on shore. I received a very polite answer, and the wounded were sent for. He also sent an officer to desire I would send on shore five companies of the regiment of Saintonge and 140 militia, on the terms of the cartel. . . . I consented, as only about 120 of the French soldiers survive, that they shall go on shore on parole given.’ Troude says that the *Héros* had more than 200 men *hors de combat*. Hawke estimates the number of men on board the 74's as 815; that is, 2,445 in the three ships that were sunk, from which about 200 were saved. Add the *Formidable*'s 1,000—killed, wounded, or prisoners—the *Héros*' 200, and all that must have been killed or wounded in the *Soleil Royal* and other ships, the French loss in men cannot have been less than 4,000, and was probably much more.

JOURNALS  
OF  
HENRY DUNCAN  
CAPTAIN, ROYAL NAVY  
1776-1782



## INTRODUCTORY

OF Henry Duncan, the writer of the following journals, singularly little is known beyond the incidents of his professional career. He was born in Scotland about 1735, and may very well have been a more or less distant relation of Adam Duncan, the victor of Camperdown. Of this, however, there is no evidence. He began his sea life in the merchant service—possibly in that of the East India Company, with many others of his name—but entered the Navy on 10th May, 1755, as an able seaman on board the *Nassau*, commanded by Captain George Cokburne, in the Western Squadron. A few months later Cokburne was suspended by James Sayer, who early in the following year rated Duncan a midshipman. In the summer of 1756 the *Nassau* went out to the Mediterranean, one of a small squadron sent to reinforce Admiral Byng, whom it did not meet till his return to Gibraltar after the action off Minorca. In 1757 the *Nassau*, still commanded by Sayer, was one of the fleet with Vice-Admiral Holburne at Halifax and off Louisbourg. In the following February Duncan joined the *Newark*, commanded by William Holburne, the admiral's brother, which in the summer of 1758 was one of the fleet off Brest under Lord Anson. On 3rd January, 1759, he passed his examination for lieutenant; and on 23rd March, the ship being at Plymouth, Holburne, who was senior officer there, gave him an acting order as third lieutenant of the *America*, then on the point of sailing for the Mediterranean. At Gibraltar she found the squadron under Vice-Admiral Brodrick, who promptly relieved Duncan by promoting one of his own midshipmen into the vacancy; and—as a small compensation—took Duncan into his flagship, the 90-gun ship *Prince*, as a midshipman.



In the *Prince*, Duncan remained during the summer, and in her witnessed, rather than took part in, the celebrated action of 18th August; though on the 19th the ship rendered useful service in securing the prizes. On the 20th, Duncan was transferred to Boscawen's flagship, the *Namur*, where he was rated a. b.; but on her return to England he was promoted—21st September, 1759—to be lieutenant of the *Barfleur*, employed during the following year as a guardship. In December, 1760, he was appointed to the *Hampton Court*, and took part, in the spring of 1761, in the reduction of Belle Isle. As winter approached he seems to have got leave, sufficient at any rate to go to Dartmouth, where, in St. Saviour's Church, on 27th November, he married Mary French.<sup>1</sup> But, still in the *Hampton Court*, he went out to the West Indies in 1762, had his share in the capture of Havana, where he served, apparently, in the batteries on shore, and in October was moved to the *Téméraire*, one of the ships which remained at Jamaica with Keppel. At the peace the *Téméraire* was paid off, and Duncan spent the next six years on shore on half-pay.

At this time he seems to have settled down at Dartmouth. That his married life was happy appears from numerous incidental remarks in the journal. Two children are registered as having been born at this time—Isabella, baptized 23rd August, 1764, and Arthur French, baptized 9th February, 1769.<sup>1</sup> Another son, Henry, whose name suggests that he was the elder, was probably born away from home. He entered the Navy as his father's servant in 1781; and in 1802 was commander of the *Scout*, when she was lost, with all on board, off the coast of Newfoundland. His death was not yet known on 29th April, 1802, when he was included in the large peace promotion to post rank.

On 26th May, 1768, Duncan was promoted to commander, and in September, 1769, he was appointed to the *Wasp*, sloop, which he commanded on the home station for the next three years. Then followed another spell of

<sup>1</sup> For this information, and for much trouble taken in searching the Dartmouth register, I am indebted to the kindly assistance of Mr. Hamilton Williams, of the *Britannia*.

half-pay, till on 7th February, 1776, he was promoted to the rank of captain.

One important influence his marriage had on his career in the service. It seems probable that Miss French had brought him an easy fortune, so as to make it unnecessary for him to be at sea in time of peace ; but it may be taken as certain that she had brought him such interest as insured him a choice of service when the proper time arrived. From 1757 and on till 1782, Lord Howe was member of Parliament for Dartmouth, and the influence of Duncan's connections had to be recognised. When, in January, 1776, Howe was appointed to the command in North America, it had probably been long agreed that Duncan should go with him as flag captain ; so he was posted, as has been said, and appointed to the *Eagle*. His career for the next six or seven years is fully related in the following pages, which give an account of the work of the Navy during the very troublesome operations of 1776-8, with a wealth of detail which is not to be found elsewhere. This is the really important part of the journals, though the cruise of the *Medea* in 1781 is interesting ; and Duncan's position as flag captain in 1782 gives a peculiar value to his account of the relief of Gibraltar and the rencounter off Cape Spartel.

On the 5th December, 1782, Duncan was discharged from the *Victory*—the note 'allowed six weeks' being added to the D. in the pay-book. It is the earliest instance that has come to my knowledge of full-pay leave granted on being discharged from a ship. On the 17th January, 1783, he was put on the half-pay list. Two months later, Howe being then first lord of the Admiralty, he was appointed commissioner at Halifax, where he went with his wife and family in the following August. On the 22nd October he wrote, notifying his arrival, and adding that, not finding any flag or senior captain there, he had taken charge. This was not unusual, and was indeed very commonly ordered in set terms in the appointment as resident commissioner ; though—as every one will recollect—it involved an assumption of authority which gave such great offence to Nelson at Antigua.

At Halifax Duncan remained till 1799, when he returned to England, to be appointed in the following year

commissioner at Sheerness, and in January, 1801, deputy-comptroller of the Navy. This office he held till 1806, when he retired and was put on the list of superannuated captains, with a pension of 900*l.* a year. For the next eight years he resided at Dartmouth, where he owned a convenient residence, with stable, coach-house, &c., known as Mount Pleasant. There he died on the 7th October, 1814. His widow, who survived till the 25th September, 1823, was allowed a pension of 300*l.* a year; besides which she inherited, under her husband's will, Mount Pleasant and all belonging to it, together with money and an estate in Newfoundland. The will also mentions his daughter Isabella, Mrs. Troysdon, and her children; the widow of his son, the late Captain Henry Duncan; his sister, Mrs. Stevenson, and her son, Captain Stevenson, a captain of 1812. The name of Arthur French Duncan does not appear in the will; it may be presumed that he died young, or, at any rate, unmarried.

The journals here printed are in five note-books (6" x 4") closely filled with small and now much-faded writing in Duncan's hand. With some few exceptions, which he has himself called attention to, the entries seem to have been written from day to day. The identity of the handwriting being clearly established by comparison with Duncan's official letters in the Public Record Office, the history of the little books is not of so much importance as it would otherwise be. This is fortunate, for they have no 'pedigree.' At the sale of the effects of Commander Thomas Cull, who died at Poole in 1886, they were bought by the present owner, Mr. Joseph Hall, of Hove, from whom the Society has now received permission to print them. How they came into Captain Cull's possession is not known. There may have been some family connection, or he may have bought them. But the main point is that, both by the intrinsic evidence and the identity of the handwriting, the genuineness of the journals may be considered absolutely certain. The maps are taken from those in Jeffery's *American Atlas*, 1778.

# JOURNALS

OF

## CAPTAIN HENRY DUNCAN.

*EAGLE.* 1776.

*7th February.*—This day I was commissioned for the *Eagle*, of 64 guns and 500 men, at Woolwich. At that time I was in Dartmouth violently ill of a rheumatic fever. Set out from Dartmouth the 27th February to join the ship, and arrived in London on Sunday, the 3rd March. Found the lieutenants, Reeve, Howorth, Harmood, P. Brown, Watt, and Farnham,<sup>1</sup> appointed to the ship; the two latter are to receive Vice-Admiral Lord Howe's order for acting.

*30th March, Saturday.*—Eight a.m. cast off from the Bedford, and at one p.m. anchored in the Lower Hope, where we took in our guns and stores; and on Sunday, the 7th April, weighed from the Hope. Anchored that night at the Nore.

*8th April.*—Weighed from the Nore, and at half-past ten a.m. carried away the fore topmast, which obliged us to come to an anchor again a few

<sup>1</sup> All these lieutenants became captains. Reeve commanded the Captain in Hotham's two actions in 1795, and died a vice-admiral in 1802. Watt, a captain of 9th May, 1781, commanded the *Sultan* in the East Indies, with Sir Edward Hughes, and was slain in the action off Trincomalee on 3rd September, 1782.

miles below where we weighed from, and, after anchoring two or three times in the Swin and off the North Foreland, anchored in the Downs.

*13th, Saturday.*—At eight a.m. this day lost a man overboard, but supposed to be picked up by a brig astern. At eight in the evening weighed, and came to sail in company with the Rainbow, Captain Sir George Collier,<sup>1</sup> which ship we considerably outsailed.

*16th April, Tuesday.*—Arrived this morning at Spithead. Found here Vice-Admiral of the red Sir James Douglas,<sup>2</sup> the Resolution, Royal Oak, Exeter, Marlborough, Preston, Jersey, Repulse, Emerald, Tartar [torn off], fireship, bomb, and afterwards the Rainbow.

*25th April.*—Arrived here forty-four sail of transports, with Hessian troops, for America. On the 30th they drop down to St. Helens, under the command of Commodore Hotham (who is to hoist a broad pennant when he leaves St. Helens), with the Brune, Emerald, Rainbow, Jersey, fireship and bomb; the commodore in the Preston.

*6th May, Monday.*—This morning at three a.m. hoisted the Right Honourable Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Howe's white flag at the fore topmast head as vice-admiral of the white.

*7th.*—Sailed from St. Helens Commodore Hotham, with his squadron as above, and the transports with guards and Hessian troops.

*10th.*—This morning parted from F. Went on board and got under sail. Anchored this night at St. Helens, and in the morning went to sea.

*14th.*—Evening, anchored at Guernsey, and next

<sup>1</sup> Knighted for service on the coast of North America in 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Knighted for bringing home Sir Charles Saunders's despatches from Quebec in 1759.

# JOURNALS OF HENRY DUNCAN 113

evening sailed from thence with a fair wind, which lasted us 500 leagues to the westward, during which run we found ourselves drawn considerably to the southward ; and though we steered NW by W by the compass, going six, seven, and eight knots, found by the observations that we got no northing, and a WNW course gave us a considerable deal of southing.

Mates and midshipmen <sup>1</sup> that sailed from England in the Eagle :—

## *Mates.*

Thomas Oliver ( <i>hold</i> )	William Ley
*Brabazon Christian	

## *Midshipmen.*

†John Whitmore Chetwynd	†Thomas Parke
*James Cranstoun	†Warwick Oben
*Alexander Hood	†Andrew Congalton
*Thomas Hamilton	†Thomas Walbeoff
*Edward Roe	*Thomas Hurd
*George Tripp	Thomas Careless
*Thomas Goldesbrough	*John Cooke
	( <i>youngster</i> )
†Joseph Eastwood	*Charles Wm. Pater- son

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note the large proportion of these (10, marked with \*, out of 19) who attained the rank of captain. Lord Cranstoun was Rodney's flag-captain on 12th April, 1782 ; and in 1795 commanded the Bellerophon in Cornwallis's celebrated 'retreat.' He died in 1796, accidentally poisoned by drinking some cider that had been kept in a vessel lined with lead. Hood commanded the Mars in 1798, and was mortally wounded in action with the French ship Hercule ; he died just as he received the sword of the French captain. Hurd was for many years hydrographer to the Admiralty, and died in 1823. Cooke was first lieutenant of the Royal George on 1st June, 1794 ; and was slain at Trafalgar, in command of the Bellerophon. Paterson became a rear-admiral in 1812, and died an admiral in

22nd to 25th.—No observation. The 25th, had an observation and found the ship fifty-six miles to the southward of the reckoning, then in latitude  $48^{\circ} 52' N.$ , longitude  $29^{\circ} 11'$  west from Guernsey.

26th.—In the morning blowing very fresh at NW. In the evening a hard gale of wind. Lay to under the mizen staysail. Found the ship make so much water that it was difficult to keep her clear with all the pumps; she made so much water through her ports and upper works. A link of the foremost pump-chain broke, and so often as mended broke again, so that it could not be got to work during the whole night, owing to the brittleness of the cast iron. Chined the ports inside, and by daylight got clear of the water.

29th.—The gale continued till this evening.

30th.—In the morning, moderate weather, the wind in the NW quarter; saw several ships to windward.

31st.—Spoke the brig transport Malaga, of Commodore Hotham's convoy, with 108 Hessians on board; all well. She parted with the convoy on Monday, the 27th inst., in a gale of wind. Tuesday morning she saw the Jersey and nine sail of the fleet. Until this gale the fleet were all together and no accidents had happened. A fair wind; left the transport.

8th June.—Spoke the Adventure, a merchant ship that sailed with Commodore Hotham, but had parted from them some time. She is bound to Halifax. Last night, one Inglefield fell from the main shrouds down on the booms, and was killed on the spot.

9th, Sunday.—This morning saw an island of ice,

1841. Of the rest, two (marked †) reached the rank of commander and four (‡) of lieutenant. The others cannot now be traced.

then in latitude  $46^{\circ} 42' N$ , longitude  $40^{\circ} 54' W$ . A foul wind from the 1st to this morning; the wind now fair.

10th.—Saw an island of ice and run through between two small ones.

11th.—More ice in sight, and three sail of vessels. Thick foggy weather for these several days past. Saw several very large islands of ice; one in particular we passed close to windward of; the top of it seemed to be twice as high as our masthead. Spoke with the Speke hospital ship, and a brig with the frames of flat-bottomed boats. They were part of the Tartar's convoy who sailed from Plymouth the 9th May with five sail for Quebec.

12th.—The Tartar joined and saluted us with 15 guns. Returned it with 11, not knowing she had fired fifteen. In company with her, three sails of her convoy. Ran down to leeward with the Tartar, and joined the brig we spoke the day before. The Speke only missing of the convoy. Kept company with the Tartar this night; in the morning the admiral gave her orders, &c., for Quebec. Parted with her at noon and made sail.

19th, *Wednesday*.—This morning at seven o'clock made the land at Port Howe. Stood close in shore between White Haven and Torbay, about five or six leagues to the westward of Cape Canso, the wind at WSW; tacked and stood off.

21st.—Off Halifax, with little wind and fog; fell in with the Renown, Captain Banks, from Boston, with a convoy of eight or nine sail, part of the Flora's convoy, with Fraser's Highlanders.

22nd.—Foggy weather. Off Halifax, fell in with the Despatch schooner, Lieutenant Goodridge, who informed us that the fleet and army were sailed from Halifax, and that General Burgoyne was arrived at Quebec; that the rebels had left it, and



that General Carleton was in pursuit of them. The admiral dispatched the schooner for Halifax.

23rd, *Sunday*.—Stood close into the harbour. The Commissioner, Arbuthnot,<sup>1</sup> and Captain Montagu,<sup>2</sup> and [Lieutenant] Mowat came on board. Captain Banks and his convoy got into the harbour. A transport sailed for England, by whom the admiral sent despatches. The Yankee here, a big privateer taken by the Milford, went into the harbour. The same evening [we] made sail from Halifax, and stood to the southward, the wind at WSW.

30th, *Sunday*.—The wind from WSW to WNW ever since we left Halifax. In lat. 40°, long. 64° W and thereabout, found a current setting SW by W six fathoms<sup>3</sup> per hour. This morning saw a brig to leeward; bore up and steered after her; found we came up with her pretty fast, but as she carried us out of our course the admiral ordered to haul the wind again.

3rd *July*.—At the back of Nantucket Shoal, blowing up pretty fresh. This shoal is not surveyed, nor laid down accurately; and though I believe that the south end of it lies about 40° 40' N, yet we did not choose to pass it to the northward of 40° 00'. The heat is now become very great; the thermometer at 80°, and I can scarcely bear a sheet over me at night. The admiral hath been a little out of order, and kept his cabin these two days.

7th *July, Sunday*.—This day spoke a whaling brig who had been eight months out. She was

<sup>1</sup> Marriot Arbuthnot, afterwards commander-in-chief on the station (see *post*, p. 172). Died an admiral in 1794.

<sup>2</sup> George or James; they were both on the station; sons of Vice-Admiral John Montagu, at this time commander-in-chief at Newfoundland.

<sup>3</sup> Sc. tenths of a knot. See *post*, p. 184.

cleared out agreeable to Act of Parliament. She informed us of our being much farther to the eastward than we reckoned. We judged ourselves to be within a few leagues of Sandy Hook, but found by her that we were to the eastward of Nantucket Shoals. The southern part of these shoals lie in  $40^{\circ} 40' N$ , but we had sounding in the latitude of  $40^{\circ} 10'$  to  $40^{\circ} 25'$  from thirty-two to forty-nine fathoms. We came much nearer to the Nantucket Shoal than ships in general do, or than we intended; for we supposed ourselves to be close to Long Island, and far to the westward of the Shoal, when at the same time we were much too near them.

8th.—This morning spoke the Sea Flower schooner, belonging to Nantucket, Gage master, from the Isle of St. Peter, with coffee [and] molasses; but the admiral thought proper to let her go. She confirmed the account of the brig yesterday as to the bearing of the land—the variation off Nantucket Shoal,  $6^{\circ} 40' W$ .

9th.—In the evening bore up and spoke the Cerberus; parted with her at midnight and stood to the northward; left her on her station off Block Island. The boat boy fell overboard, and was drowned.

11th, Thursday.—This day saw the land of Neversink to the westward of Sandy Hook, the entrance into New York River. This night it blew pretty strong at NW. Carried sail and got under the land in the morning. By four o'clock Friday afternoon, got the length of Sandy Hook; found at anchor here the Swan and a transport or two. Proceeded up the river with baffling winds from the westward. The country appeared beautiful, both on the Long Island and Jersey side; the land well cleared and only sufficiently wooded to enrich the prospect. On our passage up, heard a very heavy

cannonade, which we found afterwards to be the Phoenix (Captain Parker)<sup>1</sup> and Rose (Captain Wallace)<sup>2</sup> passing New York. A number of batteries fired on these ships about one hundred and ninety-six shot; the ships returned the fire, but as yet we know not the damage on either side. These ships are gone up the river to cut off the communication between New York and Albany. In running up the river the ship struck several times, but did not stop; suppose she received no damage. About half-past five, arrived at the watering-place at Staten Island; the army, as we passed this island, cheered us, which we returned. Found the army in possession of Staten Island, a most delightful spot about sixteen miles long. They landed here without opposition, and found the inhabitants, about two thousand—500 of which fit to bear arms, well affected to Government. The ships found here were: Chatham, Vice-Admiral of the blue Shuldham, Captain Raynor; Centurion, Braithwaite; Asia, Vandeput; Liverpool, Bellew; Greyhound, Dickson; and Kingfisher, Græme. This evening General Howe came on board. Received him with a guard and march. Admiral Shuldham and several officers of distinction came on board. Received them all according to their rank.

13<sup>th</sup>.—This day General Howe came on board. Saluted him with fifteen guns. Mr. Reeve was dispatched with a flag of truce to Amboy, in the Jerseys, opposite Staten Island, on the west side, with letters from the admiral, which they received. In the evening Lieutenant Brown was likewise

<sup>1</sup> Hyde Parker the younger, commander-in-chief in the Baltic in 1801.

<sup>2</sup> James Wallace, knighted in 1777. In active service throughout the war; captain of the Warrior on April 12, 1782. Died an admiral in 1803.

sent with a flag of truce and despatches to George Washington, Esq., &c., at New York. Three boats were sent off to meet ours ; but as the letter was addressed as above, the people who came off said they had no such person amongst them as George Washington, Esq.,<sup>1</sup> but supposed all the world had known General Washington since last spring.

20th.—Since our arrival several flags of truce passed between us and the rebels ; Colonel Pater-son went with a flag this day, and was received on shore ; the first of our people admitted to the city.

21st, *Sunday*.—This afternoon Lieutenant Henry arrived here with seven sail of transports, part of the *Flora's* convoy. They lost her three weeks since in Boston Bay. Four or five sail of this convoy arrived at Boston the day after Captain Banks, in the *Renown*, left it, and, not knowing that Boston was evacuated by the King's troops, they fell into the hands of the rebels after an obstinate engagement.

28th, *Sunday*.—Arrived here the *Sandwich* packet, from Falmouth. She sailed the same day we did. Likewise arrived this day the *Orpheus* frigate, Captain Hudson, with six prizes.

29th.—Arrived here the *Martin*, Captain Burnaby, and the *Brune*, Captain J. Ferguson. The last was one of Commodore Hotham's fleet ; she brought in a prize with powder.

30th.—Arrived here the *Lord Hyde* in eight weeks from England.

<sup>1</sup> It was considered by the revolted colonists that this address marked a determination to ignore the colonial army rank. As a matter of fact, it was the ordinary English way of addressing officers of even the highest service rank, naval or military ; just as, even now, we give the preference to any civil title higher than esquire, which usage has degraded.

31st.—Sent a boat to meet a flag of truce from New York. Arrived here the *Senegal*, Captain Curtis. A considerable number of men came on board at different times from the *Jerseys* and *Long Island*.

2nd *August*.—Anchored here the *Solebay* and *Boreas*, with the army from the southward and one regiment from *Jamaica*; in all, about two thousand nine hundred men. The *Solebay* gave an account of the *Bristol*, *Experiment*, *Solebay*, and *Thunder bomb*, having been engaged with a battery at *Sullivan's Island*, from about twelve at noon to nine at night; that from four to five in the afternoon the battery was silent; but at nine the ships were obliged to leave their cables and anchors behind, and get off with considerable damage to their hulls and rigging and masts; thirty men killed aboard of each, and 100 wounded in the two ships. Captain Morris, of the *Bristol*, lost his arm above the elbow and died of the wound; Captain Scott,<sup>1</sup> of the *Experiment*, lost his left hand; the frigate lost two or three men, and several wounded; other three frigates, the *Acteon*, *Sphinx*, and *Active*, got foul of each other, and run on shore, so that they had no part of the action; the *Acteon's* people, finding that they could not get her off, was obliged to set fire to and burn her. This convoy consisted of about forty-four sail.

5th *August*.—Anchored here the *Renown* and *Flora*, with a convoy of *Highlanders*, last from *Halifax*; one ship with guards and four with *Hessians*.

8th.—Saw a canoe coming from the shore. Sent and brought her on board with four riflemen

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Scott, uncle and guardian of the Rev. Alexander John Scott, chaplain of the *Victory* during Nelson's last command.

that had left the rebels. During the time we have been here, we have observed the rebels very busy in erecting batteries, fitting out row galleys, and making large and high building of wood to sink in the river to destroy the navigation above the town ; the row galley and floating batteries have been sent several times against the Phoenix and Rose, but we hear they have always been beat off with loss.

12th.—Arrived here the Sandwich packet ; she sailed from Falmouth the                   ; <sup>1</sup> she saluted with nine guns, returned five. The same day, Monday the 12th, anchored here Commodore Hotham and all his fleet. The transports with Hessians and guards stopped below Staten Island ; Captain Davis, who left Portsmouth the 26th May, joined them off the lighthouse, [and] came in with them and all his convoy. These two fleets together made about 104 sail ; the number of ships here before might be about 130 or 140. On the night between the 14th and 15th, a whaleboat with a petty officer and six men came down the river past New York from the Phoenix. He informed us that his ship received several shot in her hull and many in the sails and rigging in passing the town.

16th.—This day the Sandwich sailed for Falmouth.

17th.—This day Lord Drummond, with Mr. Brown, went with a flag of truce to New York, and returned about dark.

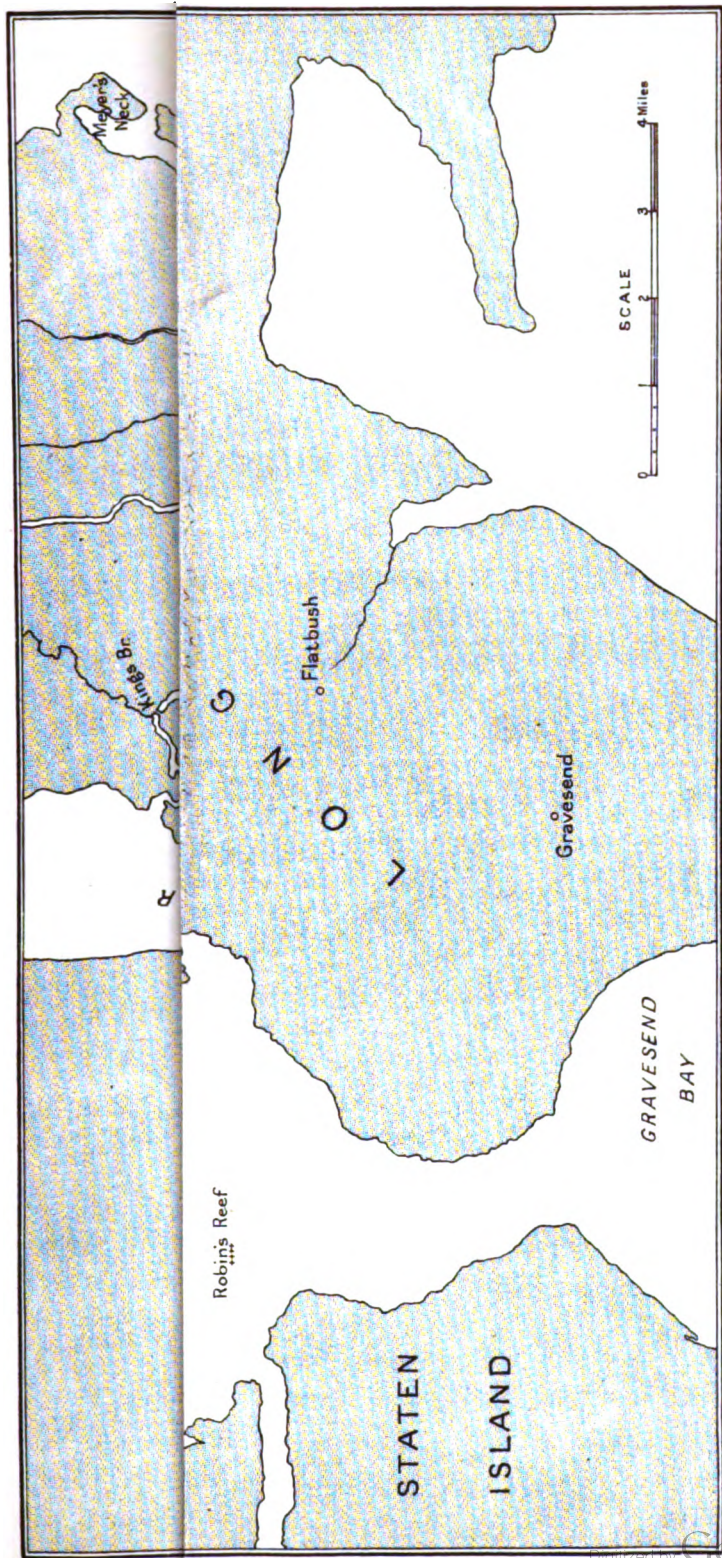
18th, *Sunday*.—This night and morning blowing and raining very hard. At five o'clock in the morning or a little after, heard a heavy cannonade up the North River ; it continued to increase, and come nearer to us. About seven o'clock all the batteries in and near the town and opposite shore were firing

<sup>1</sup> Blank in MS.

away very fast ; at this time very thick, raining and blowing. A little before eight the Phoenix, Rose, Trial schooner, and Shuldham sloop, appeared in sight close to Bedloe's Island. The two ships fired away on both sides, and soon after anchored here at Staten Island. The ships received no damage whatever, and not one shot struck the Phoenix ; the Rose had two men wounded slightly.

21st, *Wednesday*.—Several of the captains, with Commodore Hotham, were on board this afternoon to know his lordship's instructions relative to the landing ; and this evening turned out as bad a one as I ever saw—terrible thunder, lightning, and prodigious heavy rain. This night the general slept on board, and between one and two of Thursday morning (the weather then moderate, and the wind shifted from NE to the westward) I called the admiral and acquainted him that I was going to get the transports under way, from which the first landing of troops were to be taken from ships. The flat boats were all assembled by four o'clock on the beach, under the particular command of Commodore Hotham ; the Captains Vandeput, Caldwell, Appleby, Caulfeild, Mason, Phipps, Curtis, and Lieutenants Reeve and Bristol,<sup>1</sup> each commanded a division of boats. I had the arrangement of the transports, and was to command the debarking of the Hessians. About half after seven the admiral hoisted his flag on board the Phoenix in Gravesend Bay, Long Island. She with the Greyhound, Rose, and two bombs were placed to cover the landing. About eight the Phoenix fired a gun and hoisted a striped flag, blue and white, at the mizen top-mast head, as a signal for the troops to proceed to the shore. A little after eight all the ships with troops for the first

<sup>1</sup> There was no lieutenant of this name on the list. William Bristow, a lieutenant of 1771, is probably meant.



Mulby & Sons, Lith.

## WATER WAYS ROUND ABOUT NEW YORK.





landing were in motion ; and the boats that had taken in about 1,000 troops from Staten Island began to move across towards Gravesend Bay, in Long Island. Half-past eight Commodore Hotham hoisted the red flag in his boat as a signal for the boats to push on shore. The boats immediately obeyed the signal, and in ten minutes or thereabout 4,000 men were on the beach, formed, and moved forward. The wind blew down the harbour, but the flood tide had made up too strong for the ships to get down in their intended station ; nevertheless, by twelve o'clock or very soon after, all the troops were on shore, to the number of 15,000, and by three o'clock we had an account of the army being got as far as Flat Bush, six or seven miles from where they landed.

*24th, Saturday.*—This day one Lieutenant Campbell, of a new raised company of New Yorkers, commanding an advanced post, separated his party, to go round a swamp ; he with eleven men took one route, the remainder of his party another ; he fell in with a party of rebels consisting of thirty and an officer ; Campbell with his eleven men took five rebels with the officer, killed five, and routed the rest. He had one man killed.

*25th, Sunday.*—This day landed from Staten Island, on Long Island, 4,000 Hessians, with De Heister, their commander-in-chief.

*26th.*—This evening the army began to advance towards Red Hook and Brookland.<sup>1</sup> Our army moved forward in three grand divisions, the right commanded by General Clinton, the centre by General Lord Percy, and the left by General Grant. The firing began to the left, in view of our ship, between ten and eleven at night. The engagement began to

<sup>1</sup> Now Brooklyn, a name in use even then, but apparently less common.

be warm towards daylight on Tuesday morning, the 27th, and by that time General Grant had taken and forced back all the rebel advanced guard. Between five and six in the morning General Grant's corps and that of the rebels opposed to him, under the command of Lord Stirling,<sup>1</sup> cannonaded each other, and frequently engaged with musketry until eleven o'clock, when the firing ceased on both sides. They were drawn up on both sides, in divided parties, and there was no ground sufficient for drawing up two armies regularly opposed to each other, the ground being woody and the fields small. The two armies kept each other at bay from eleven until half-past one; all this time General Grant waited the arrival of the centre column of our army coming in the rear of that opposed to him, which when he saw, he immediately pushed the rebels back on General Howe, and great part of that corps of the rebels were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; some few of them got into the woods. The centre and right of our army did not meet with so much opposition as the left, nor so much as they expected. By the general's account, it was impossible for troops to behave better than every corps of ours did; the

<sup>1</sup> William Alexander, son of James Alexander, who, after serving in the army of the Pretender in 1715, took refuge in America, where by practice as a lawyer and by marriage he acquired a considerable fortune. The son William had served in the colonial army under General Shirley, and afterwards, on a visit to England, had put forward a claim to the earldom of Stirling. The House of Lords negatived this in 1762, but Alexander had already assumed the title, and continued to use it after his return to America till his death in 1783. We may assume that he had not inherited any love for the House of Hanover, and that the disallowing his claim to the peerage had left him with embittered feelings against the English Government. From the first he had adopted a strong line against the English policy, and was put in command of the first regiment raised by the authority of Congress.

Hessians behaved exceedingly well. Our loss, from the general's mouth and the returns I saw, was Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, Captain Sir Alexander Murray, Captain Logan of the marines, and Captain [Nelson] of the 52nd, in all five officers;<sup>1</sup> total killed, fifty-one, and twenty-four marines with two lieutenants taken prisoners, by mistaking the rebels for Hessians. The rebels lost, killed, wounded, and prisoners, 3,450. We had about 140 wounded, seventeen of them dangerous; the others mostly slight wounds. General Sullivan, who commanded the rebels on Long Island, and Lord Stirling, who commanded against Grant, were both taken. On Thursday, 29th, General Sullivan and Lord Stirling both dined with the admiral, and were rather impudent than otherwise in talking of yesterday's engagement. This day, we with several of the men-of-war moved up nearer the town; the army has got within musket shot of the rebels' works on Brookland Heights, and General Grant in the bay opposite to Red Hook.

*30th, Friday.*—This morning Sullivan breakfasted with us, and was afterwards sent with a flag of truce to New York and was left there. The admiral was going on shore, and was met in his barge by Colonel Sheriff, who informed him, to the surprise of the army, the rebels had quitted all their strong posts on Long Island, and deserted it entirely. Our people took possession of them, and found them strong and might easily have been defended for a considerable time. Some of the rebels, not knowing the precipitate flight of the others, were overtaken by our people by the time they got in the boats, and received a heavy fire from them, which the general believed did con-

<sup>1</sup> The fifth was Second-Lieutenant Lovell of the Royal Artillery.

siderable execution. This evening, we, with several of the ships, moved up within random shot of the town. The rebels quitted Governor's Island. On Saturday morning, the 31st, some few men returned to it.

*2nd September.*—This morning 100 Hessians took possession of Governor's Island without opposition.

*7th September.* — Commodore Hotham and several captains occupied getting the flat boats in order for conveying the troops from Long Island to New York Island.

*9th.*—This day Sullivan returned from the Congress, supposed to bring some proposals. The flat boats, to the number of twenty-eight, are to be manned for proceeding up the East River this night.

*11th, Wednesday.*—This day the admiral and Mr. Strachie went very early in the morning to Staten Island, and did not return till late at night. It was reported, and I believe, they went to meet some people at Amboy, sent by the Congress. There hath been a cannonade these several mornings past, up the East River near Hell Gate.

*12th.*—The last division of flat boats and batteaux are to proceed up the East River this evening, the whole to be under the particular command of Commodore Hotham and divided under the Captains Caldwell, Vandeput, Caulfeild, Dickson, Molloy, Phipps, and Lieutenant Howorth.

*13th.*—At four o'clock this afternoon, made the signal for the Phoenix, Orpheus, Carysfort, and Roebuck to get under way; they immediately weighed and moved up the East River, passing between Governor's Island and Red Hook. The town and several batteries fired at the ships as they passed, which they took no notice of; but the batteries on

the Heights of Brookland and those on Governor's Island returned the fire.

14<sup>th</sup>.—This afternoon about five o'clock six transports got under way, to run up the East River. One of them got aground off Red Hook, which prevented her proceeding up the river; the other five went on. About half-past five the batteries in the town and along shore began to fire, but the ships proceeded on without stopping; Governor's Island and Brookland returned the fire.

15<sup>th</sup> *September, Sunday*.—Between six and seven this morning, made the signal for the Renown, Repulse, and Pearl to get under way, which signal they immediately obeyed. About seven o'clock, or a little after, the batteries in the town and all along that shore began to fire, as well as that at Paulus Hook; the ships returned the fire very smartly, and proceeded up the North River six or eight miles and anchored in our sight under the high land of Holbeck. At the time they got under way the transport that ran on shore last night got under way, and run up the East River, scarcely noticed, as the rebels' attention was so much taken up with the men-of-war. When the ships of war anchored, and for some time before, there were no guns fired at them. A little after eleven a most furious cannonade was heard up the East River. It appeared from our mastheads to be from the men-of-war. It continued about an hour. The admiral went on shore, and returned about two o'clock, and informed us of our army being on York Island. They landed in Kipp's Bay, about three miles above the town up the East River, under the cannon of the ships. Soon after dinner I went in a boat and pulled towards York. A flag of truce was hoisted in the town when I put off from the ship, but was hauled down soon after I put off. On approaching

the town there appeared to be a rabble on the walls. Ordered the boat to push on shore. At the landing-place I was met by the mob, who gave me three cheers, took me on their shoulders, carried me to the Governor's Fort, put me under the English colours now hoisted, and again gave me three cheers, which they frequently repeated, men, women, and children shaking me by the hand, and giving me their blessing, and crying out 'God save the King!' They carried me to my boat, and we parted with cheering and my promising to send them some troops. The Fowey and Mercury went close to the town.

16<sup>th</sup>.—This morning about three o'clock I was called by the officer of watch, and informed that a fire-vessel was close on board of us. I immediately run on the forecastle, and perceived that the light was at some distance from us, and that it approached us but slowly. By daybreak we perceived them plainly to be four fire-vessels, that had been sent against the Renown, Repulse, and Pearl. These fire-vessels came near the ships, but by slipping or veering they escaped them. The Renown slipped one cable and cut another; she made sail with the wind down the river and an ebb tide, and joined us here off Bedloe's Island. The two frigates kept their stations up the river. The report of this day (for there has been no certain account from the army) [is] that they are in pursuit of the rebels and driving them before them like sheep. A little after nine at night, three guns were fired as a signal. It proved to be the Chatham, in coming up here, had got on Robin's Reef. Sent the master to her.

17<sup>th</sup>.—This morning the Chatham got off; she received no damage. The general dined on board this day. I learned from Captain Balfour that two companies of light infantry had chased the rebels,

to the amount of at least one thousand men, back on their main army, close to all their works. The rebels rallied under the works, and were continually gathering, till they amounted to about five thousand men. General Leslie, who saw the situation of these two advanced companies—that they were almost surrounded—that he must either suffer them to be cut to pieces, or endanger a great many more, the latter alternative he took, advanced with two brigades of Highlanders and Grenadiers. They went to the relief of the brave fellows engaged with so great odds, better than two miles in ten minutes. They now maintained their ground until General Howe brought up two field-pieces and a body of men; then ordered the advanced post to retreat behind him. The rebels followed our people in their retreat, but were soon stopped by the general and drove back faster than they advanced, [it is] imagined, with very considerable loss. We lost about twenty killed and eighty wounded.<sup>1</sup> In the evening sent two boats to Brown's Island, a small one just above Bedloe's, and took off a deserter from the *Renown*, who had swam from the ship the night before. This was done by information.

18<sup>th</sup>.—The *Renown* went up the North River for her anchors. She kept close to New York. Paulus Hook fired a few shot at her; she received no damage.

19<sup>th</sup>.—This evening the *Renown* returned to this anchorage; she kept to the New York shore, and though many shot were fired at her from Paulus Hook, she received no damage.

20<sup>th</sup>.—This evening got twenty flat boats and two galleys ready for service to-morrow.

21<sup>st</sup>.—This morning about one o'clock the officer

<sup>1</sup> Killed, 14; wounded, 78 (Beatson).



of the watch called me, and gave information of a house in New York being on fire. I immediately went on deck, observed the fire to spread and catch several houses, and saw the fire break out at different parts of the city. Sent several boats on shore to the assistance of the place. Made the signal for all lieutenants, and ordered boats from each ship for the same purpose. It was evident from many circumstances that the city was maliciously set on fire, by the fires breaking out at different places at the same time ; from lath wood, split in small slips, tarred and brimstoned, with tow and all manner of combustibles being placed in different parts of the city. Several people were taken up, against whom the proof seemed very plain. These the sailors, soldiers, and mob immediately put to death ; many others, perhaps thirty or forty, were put in jail on strong suspicion. This evening the fire is entirely out ; but had the wind come to the westward and blown fresh, as it did when it first broke out, the whole city would have been consumed. The loss is not yet accurately ascertained, but I suppose there may be about one-third or one-sixth of the city burned.

22<sup>nd</sup>.—This day a number of soldiers were embarked on board twenty flat boats, intended to have been landed at Paulus Hook, under cover of the *Renown* ; she got under way, but steered so bad, she was obliged to anchor, and the troops disembarked.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—This day the *Roebuck*, *Emerald*, and *Tartar* got under way, got close under Paulus Hook and anchored ; the rebels fired a few shot at them in going in, but quitted the batteries before the ships anchored. They fired some shot at the batteries and woods. At half after four eight flat boats landed with between three and four hundred troops, and

took possession of the Hook and its strong redoubts, evacuated by many hundred of rebels, and there could not be less than 2,000 of them in sight when our people went into their works.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Moored the ship up close to the town, between Paulus Hook and Governor's Battery.

26<sup>th</sup>.—The Halifax packet sailed under convoy of the Mercury. The Daphne arrived from England.

9<sup>th</sup> October.—The Phoenix, Roebuck, and Tartar went up the North River under a very severe cannonade from both the York and Jersey shores ; the particulars of their damage not yet known.

11<sup>th</sup>.—This afternoon the admiral, with most of the captains, and Commodore Hotham, with all the flat boats and batteaux, went up the East River to Kipp's and Turtle Bay, near the west end of Blackwell's Island, where we remained all the night, during which time the army were striking their tents and preparing to embark. About three o'clock [on] Saturday morning, the 12<sup>th</sup>, the troops were embarked in the flat boats and batteaux, to the number of between four and five thousand men ; the guards and 42<sup>nd</sup> regiment, between fourteen and fifteen hundred men, were embarked on board sloops under my direction. At daybreak in the morning the boats set off, and no sooner had they put off, with an amazing strong tide, but it came on a fog equal to pitch darkness, with now and then an interval of light for a few seconds. The boats were put off ; to attempt to stop them would have been very dangerous, for the headmost boats must have anchored, and the boats that followed would in all probability run foul of them, to the imminent danger of sinking each other ; the admiral, therefore, rather chose to run the risk of passing Hell Gate with all the boats in that rapid tide and dark fog. I went

astern and ordered all the boats to move forward. Soon after their putting off, a galley towing one of the artillery boats, in endeavouring to cross a vessel lying in the passage, towed her athwart hawse ; the boat ran directly up her cable, and overset instantly. Many of the people were picked up ; there were three field-pieces lost, and I suppose five or six people. There were very few people in the flat boats had ever been through or knew anything of the passage of Hell Gate. This made the danger much the greater. To keep the starboard shore was the safest passage ; straight through carried them upon the rocks, and the larboard shore would have brought them under the fire of the enemy, perhaps without being able to land or retreat ; but the boats got all very luckily through, the one instance only excepted, and arrived at Frog Point, the place of their destination, about nine o'clock,<sup>1</sup> where they landed without opposition. They marched up about two miles and a half in the country, but were there stopped very unexpectedly by a bridge being broke down across a small rivulet, and a causeway tore up that led across a morass. Our people remained in this situation, with the sentinels popping at each [other,] from the time of landing to the 18th October, when very early in the morning the flat boats all assembled and embarked between four and five thousand troops, with which they proceeded round Frog Point and landed on Meyers' Neck in East Chester without opposition. The ground was very favourable for an attempt of that kind : a considerable part of the army marched across the Neck, not more than one or one and a half miles, and got within pistol-shot of the landing-place, although the passage by water could not be

<sup>1</sup> On the morning of the 12th.

less than five or six miles. This day Captain Fielding, in the Diamond, with the Hessian convoy, all arrived here. On their appearance I went up to Meyers' Neck, where the army were then landing, and informed the admiral of the Hessians' arrival, who seemed very happy on the occasion. On Tuesday, the 22nd, almost all the Hessians were sent up the East River to join the general.

27<sup>th</sup>.—Early in the morning heard a cannonade up the North River. I went up to see what it was; found the Repulse and Pearl advanced, the former above and the latter in a line with the rebel lines. The rebels brought down one 18-pounder on the York, and three other guns on the Jersey shore. The ships could not fire with any execution at these guns; and as they had answered the intent of their moving up, that of flanking the enemy's lines and scouring the woods, while Lord Percy advanced towards the lines, and it now being high water, Captain Davis thought it proper to drop the ships down to their former station. Many shots were thrown into the Repulse, and some into the Pearl; no men killed in either, and only one man's leg broke on board the Repulse.

29<sup>th</sup>.—This evening we had an imperfect account of an engagement between the two armies that happened yesterday. The general beat the rebels from off White Plains, where they intended to encamp. White Plains is a hilly ground, very strong, but clear of wood. We lost in this action about 190 killed and wounded; but few of the former; four officers killed and as many wounded. The rebels are supposed to have lost several hundred men. We are informed by deserters that went on board the ships in the North River that the rebels had burned their barracks at, and the village of Kingsbridge.

*3rd November, Sunday.*—In the course of this last week, the general took several redoubts and upwards of seventy pieces of cannon from the rebels, and a considerable quantity of ammunition. At dusk this evening the Pearl and two victuallers passed up the North River, under a heavy cannonade from both shores. The Pearl had a shot in her mizen-mast, one man killed and four wounded slightly; one man killed on board one of the victuallers.

*14th.*—The Active and Fowey, with a convoy of upwards of 130 sail, sailed for England.

*15th.*—This evening at eight o'clock, thirty flat boats and one galley went up the North River under the command of Captain Wilkinson. They were to go above Fort Washington; the boats passed through between Forts Washington and Constitution undiscovered by the rebels, and went into the river that separates York Island from Connecticut.

*17th, Saturday.*—This morning about half after seven a most furious cannonade was heard up the North River; the army attacking the lines of Fort Washington, General Knyphausen on our right to the northward of the fort, another body of Hessians below it on the left; the Highlanders were carried up Haarlem Creek in batteaux and landed on the back of the lines to the right of the last-mentioned Hessians; the light infantry, grenadier guards, &c., were landed from the flat boats that went up the North River, and passed under Kingsbridge; they landed on Knyphausen's left. Lord Percy commanded the attack to the southward and eastward, Knyphausen, General Matthew, and several others were employed on the north and east side. Our loss on this occasion was about ninety English killed and wounded, of the former twenty-two; the Hessians had about forty-two killed and 214 wounded. The rebels had three lines, one

within the other, without the fort ; the ground to the right where the Hessians, and that where the Highlanders advanced, were the most difficult of access, and our greatest loss fell on them. The loss the rebels sustained perhaps will never be nearly ascertained ; but as they quitted their lines whenever our people got near them, and retreated to the next, until they were drove into the fort, I do not suppose their loss was very considerable. Lord Howe was in the field, and close by Lord Percy when his horse was wounded under him. Towards dusk the rebels were drove into the fort and closely invested all round on the land side. At this time it blew pretty fresh from the westward, so that (if practicable) the passage across the North River would be very tedious, and the retreat that way dangerous.

Our people were now all ready to burst into the fort ; and as the displeasure of the army run very high against the rebels, the taking it by assault would have been very fatal to the rebels. They therefore hoisted a flag of truce the minute they were all drove into the fort. General Knyphausen sent in to know what they wanted : their request was to give up the fort and be allowed the honours of war, colours flying, &c., &c. He informed them they should have an answer in half an hour, and immediately sent a messenger to General Howe, whose answer was that they must instantly give up the fort at discretion ; the rebels thought proper to comply, and our people took possession of the fort with between 25 and 26 hundred prisoners. In all [we took] this day 209 officers, 2,569 privates, 41 pieces of cannon, mostly brass, ammunition, provision, baggage, &c., &c. The fort was commanded by one Magaw,<sup>1</sup> who, the day before, on being

<sup>1</sup> A lawyer from Pennsylvania ; he is described by Stedman as a man of liberal education and engaging manners.

summoned, said his cause was a good one, and he should defend the fort to the last extremity.

18th.—The admiral received a letter from the general at 8 this evening, requesting that twenty flat boats, in addition to the thirty already there, might be sent up the North River this night, which was immediately complied with.

20th.—This morning, at daybreak, our troops, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, landed without opposition seven miles above Fort Constitution, on the Jersey shore. They proceeded straight to the Forts Constitution and Lee;<sup>1</sup> the rebels quitted on their approach, with great precipitation, leaving their tents standing. A considerable part of their baggage was taken, [and] thirty pieces of good cannon; about twenty of the rear-guard were killed, and ninety taken prisoners, without a man of ours being either killed or wounded; these forts were very strong but not quite [left blank].

27th.—The *Asia*, *Centurion*, and *Renown* sailed from hence, and were followed the next day, 28th, by Sir Peter Parker in the *Chatham*, *Preston*, and *Experiment*, and some frigates. The transports, with about 7,000 troops, went into the East River, in order to proceed through the Sound; the large ship went round to the southward of the island. Commodore Hotham hoisted his pennant on board the *Brune* to the eastward of Hell Gate to receive the transports. They are all to meet at the east end of Long Island, and proceed from thence to Rhode Island.

29th.—Our troops go on very rapidly in the Jerseys; they are now got as far as Elizabeth Town

<sup>1</sup> Stedman and Jeffery both mark Fort Lee *or* Constitution; but close to it, on the north, a smaller work, which they call 'The Redoubt.' This is, apparently, what is here meant by Fort Lee.

without opposition, driving an army of the rebels before them.

*4th December.*—This day I returned from conducting the transports through Hell Gate ; forty-three of them got through in one day, and they all got safely past without any accident, and joined Commodore Hotham. The admiral expressed great satisfaction on my return, and said he was happy he could say I had conducted that business so expeditiously and so safely.

*13th.*—General Lee was taken prisoner in the Jerseys, near Morris Town, by Colonel Harcourt, of the horse. The colonel was ordered to make a circuit with his party, and falling in near Lee's army, killed or took the sentinel, who refused to say where Lee was. At this time one of the rebels' horsemen rode up to our party and told them that they were all prisoners, for that there was the army close by them. The colonel asked him where Lee was, and that if he hesitated to tell he would instantly put him to death. The fellow was frightened, and showed the house, about quarter of a mile from the main army. The colonel immediately attacked the house, killed two or three of his people, and took him prisoner ; mounted him upon one of his horses, and rode off with him as fast as possible, not giving him time to put his hat on, and carried him to head-quarters. The general, who was at this time in the Jerseys, would not see him. The general returned to town yesterday, the 17th, much fatigued and had got a cold.

*26th December.*—This day the rebels attacked a corps of Hessians under the command of Colonel Ralle. He had notice the night before of their coming ; nevertheless he was something surprised in the morning. The colonel was in possession of Trenton, a very tenable post, and from which he



might easily have made a good retreat, as a stream of water ran through the town ; by breaking down the bridge, his retreat would have been uninterrupted ; but the colonel was drunk and despised them so much, that he quitted his post and advanced upon them with about 1,200. The rebels were many thousand ; the colonel was either killed or wounded in the beginning of the action, which threw his men into confusion, and they gave way. The account from Philadelphia was that they had taken about 300 men ; but although they in general greatly exaggerate, in this case (for what reason I cannot tell) they were considerably under the number ; as, from comparing all the intelligence, I cannot think we lost less than 800 men.<sup>1</sup> Many skirmishes have happened during this winter in the Jerseys, particularly two. One, under Colonel Mawhood, wherein he with the 17th regiment got great honour ; they lost a considerable number of men, but they drove a body of rebels, perhaps six times their number, took their cannon from them, and killed and wounded, I believe, at least equal to their own number. The other was a considerable detachment under Sir William Erskine, when he routed the rebels with great slaughter ; he took no prisoners. The rebels had continually kept popping from behind hedges and walls ; this exasperated the soldiers so, that they gave no quarter ; it had the desired effect of keeping the roads clear.

1777.

*21st March.*—Five hundred men under Colonel Bird, with the Brune frigate and several galleys, went up the North River and landed at Peek's Kill ;<sup>2</sup> the rebels fled, and our people destroyed

<sup>1</sup> About 1,000 (Stedman).

<sup>2</sup> Dutch 'kil,' a creek or channel.

every considerable magazine consisting of everything fit for an army.

*North River, New York.*—Having previously been appointed to the command of an expedition destined up the Sound :

On Tuesday, the 22nd April, 1777, at 1 p.m. got the fleet under way, consisting of twelve transports, an hospital ship, and some small craft ; the army, consisting of about 2,000 men, under the command of Major-General Tryon, stood into the East River, while the admiral made a diversion with some frigates and transports up the North River. The wind was about SE in Hell Gate. The fleet got all through by half after four. Joined the Swan and Senegal at the Brothers ; they proceeded on with us, and the fleet anchored at dark near City Island. I went with the general on board the Senegal. At eleven at night the wind came to NE, and very thick foggy weather.

*23rd April.*—At 11 a.m. the weather cleared up. At 3 p.m., the turn of tide, weighed and worked to windward. One of the transports got on the Stepping Stones and made the signal of distress. Sent Captain Molloy to her assistance, with orders to shift the troops, &c., if necessary.

*24th.*—At daybreak made the signal for the sternmost ships to weigh and come near us ; the wind was easterly and the sternmost ships could get no farther than the Senegal in the course of the tide ; therefore did not weigh in the Senegal. Captain Molloy reported this morning that he had taken the troops out of the transport that run on the Stepping Stones. Got the ship off in the night, and re-embarked the troops in their proper ship again. Half-past nine Mr. Tonkin, with two transports and Brown's corps embarked on board them, joined us

from Oyster Bay, agreeable to the orders I had sent him. At noon the fleet all close to us ; the wind about ENE, hazy weather, and a pretty fresh breeze of wind. Half-past 3 p.m. got under way with the fleet. Hazy weather, with the wind at SE by S. At six came to an anchor. Thick hazy weather, so that I could not see all the fleet. Night coming on, appearances of bad weather, and most of the transports without pilots ; I thought it unsafe to work any longer to windward ; it turned out a rainy, blowy night, the wind at ENE.

25<sup>th</sup>.—At 5 a.m. weighed and came to sail ; little wind from the NE, and cloudy weather ; sent Lieutenant Watt to the Swan with orders to hasten the sternmost transports. At seven the wind came round to the northward, went round to the westward and southward ; little wind and fine clear weather. At 10 a.m. the Halifax and her tender joined us ; dispatched them off Fairfield to prevent any vessels getting from thence, and gave them signal to make to point out the state of the country, either by appearance or information. At 1 p.m. made the signal for hoisting out the flat boats. It afterwards fell calm, then light showery squalls all round. At three o'clock a light breeze of wind from the SW. At five made the signal for the troops to embark in the boats. Soon after came to an anchor off the place where we intended to land in Norwalk Bay, under the Hill Compo. At 6 p.m. the landing was made good without opposition. The landing-place was exceedingly unfavourable ; it is a long point of beach, that runs to the westward, with a swamp at the back of it ; to the right, the way the troops had to march, was a high commanding hill, the summit of which might be about a mile from the point where we landed. Just at the bottom of the hill there is a spot of water which obliged the

troops to make a circuit to gain the top ; at a little distance from the hill, right in the country, about a mile from it, is another craggy hill, a very strong-looking piece of ground ; both these hills the troops took possession of immediately on their landing. The troops came on shore in great order, and were all quickly landed. Soon after dark the beach was all cleared and every person sent to their own ships. About nine or ten at night, the wind at east, blowing pretty fresh, with now and then a little rain, which made some surf on the beach.

26<sup>th</sup>.—At 4 a.m. a captain of Brown's corps and three private men were brought off wounded. They had been fired at by a few skulking people from a ditch. In the morning took a boat and sounded behind the point where the troops landed ; found nine or ten feet of water ; ordered a small armed vessel close in there, to rake the back of the bank, and in front of the beach placed two other armed vessels close in. In the forenoon went on board the Halifax's tender ; sounded and examined the shore for some distance to the eastward. At noon it blew fresh. At 4 p.m. the wind increased. Down topgallant-yards ; at five made the signal to hoist the flat boats in, and ordered the small craft in round the point where the troops landed ; at seven lowered the lower yards and struck topgallant masts. It blew very strong from this time, at E by S to E by N, until midnight, then rained hard and fell calm. Although we lay quite open, the shoal water that run for some distance without us prevented the sea from rising to any great height.

27<sup>th</sup>.—At four in the morning the wind came to the westward and blew fresh. At eight a flag of truce came down upon the beach, which brought me a letter, signed Elijah Abel, Captain and Commander P.T. ; answered the letter and sent back the flag.

*Copy of the answer to a letter received 27th April,  
when I was at Norwalk.*

I have just now received a letter signed Elijah Abel, Captain and Commander P.T., informing me that General Wooster<sup>1</sup> has ordered Shubael Smith to be put to death if his Majesty's troops land in this State. I must inform you that the troops landed the day before yesterday. General Wooster must well know that the flag could not assist the operations of the army, as they were landed and marched before the flag arrived at Fairfield. The general will therefore follow the dictates of his own prudence.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,  
H. D.,

Commanding officer of his Majesty's fleet  
at this place.

Elijah Abel, Captain and Commander P.T.

At ten anchored here from New York seven sail of small craft. All this forenoon it blew very strong from the NW. At 1 p.m. Lieutenant Orde<sup>2</sup> arrived here in a brig prize, and brought me a letter from the admiral. Answered the same, and despatched Lieutenant Orde immediately.

28th, *Monday*.—Moderate weather, the wind from the NW. At daylight up topgallant masts and lower yards, and, as I had hopes of the troops coming down this day, warped the Senegal and Swan close in shore, until they both took the

<sup>1</sup> He was himself mortally wounded on this very day, April 27.

<sup>2</sup> At this time lieutenant of the Roebuck. In 1798, as Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde, he commanded in the third post in the fleet off Cadiz under the Earl of St. Vincent. The story of his quarrel with St. Vincent, and of his command off Cadiz in 1805, is well known.

ground ; but even then they were too far off to cover the army properly ; but as they were both moved farther to the eastward, leaving the point of the beach to the westward [of] us for the troops to be taken off from, in this situation, the front of the hill down to the foot of it was open to the sloops of war and armed vessels. On examining the coast I could find no place near at hand more convenient for re-embarking the troops ; nothing can annoy them but artillery on the top of the hill. The transports were all moved as near the shore as possible. At nine Lieutenant Quarmer<sup>1</sup> made the signal to inform me that no considerable force appeared about Fairfield ; sent the tender to him for intelligence. This forenoon heard a great number of guns fired at different times inland. At 1 p.m. saw the advanced guard of the army coming down the hills at a distance, the rebels harassing their rear with one gun and musketry from every stone fence. At two they drew near the beach ; made the signal and sent the flat boats ; at three began to embark the wounded and some prisoners ; by half after three the most of our troops had got on the hill nearest the beach, and the rebels close to them. As I heard that our people's ammunition was mostly expended, despatched two boats to the men of war sloops and soon got a supply up to the army, which the general informed me afterwards was very seasonable, and gave the troops fresh spirits. When the rebels came near our people on the hill, the general, Sir William Erskine, ordered the troops to charge ; and, though exceedingly fatigued after a long march, they charged with great spirit and drove the rebels off, pursued them a mile and a half, and killed a considerable number of them. I now conceived it probable that the rebels

<sup>1</sup> A lieutenant of 1761. He was never promoted, and died, still a lieutenant, about 1802.

might attempt to harass the rear-guard on the beach at coming off; I therefore took the waggons and formed a traverse of them across the neck, leaving room for about 1,000 or 1,500 men to the westward of the Senegal, which ship and the Swan were placed to command the beach in front from the traverse to the foot of the hill; and two small armed sloops, as mentioned before, flanked the beach. I sent and informed the general of the disposition for re-embarking the troops. He returned for answer 'that he should move the whole army down in half an hour.' Soon after he came down. All the boats, by his arrival, were collected at the point, and with the assistance of transports' boats, I suppose 1,000 of the troops were carried off in ten minutes; the whole were got off in a very short time. At six got under way with the fleet, after giving them time to remove the troops to their respective ships, which regularity could not be observed at first. Made the signal to hoist in the flat boats and steered to the westward under an easy sail; half-past eleven came to an anchor.

29th, *Tuesday*.—At 5 a.m. weighed with the fleet and worked to the westward; half-past seven, little wind to the westward, came to an anchor; half-past ten weighed; at eleven made the signal for the majors of brigade; at 6 p.m. anchored off Lawrence's Point.

30th, *Wednesday*.—Half-past four, got under way and worked to the westward; half-past six, anchored; at eight, made the signal to hoist the flat boats out; at eleven, made the signal for majors of brigade; half-past eleven, got under way, and soon after anchored to the westward of the Brothers with the whole fleet. Disembarked part of the army at Haarlem. Returned to York in my boat, with the general and other principal officers.

*1st May.*—The day after my return from the expedition the admiral thought proper to give me an order to act as adjutant to the admiral,<sup>1</sup> signifying to all officers—That orders given by me in his name were to be binding, and to be obeyed by all officers. Captain Roger Curtis<sup>2</sup> was at the same time appointed to command the *Eagle*, subordinate to me.

From the 1st May to the 1st October, 1777, I neglected this Memorandum Book, and can only fill up that space of time from my memory, assisted by the log book.

*9th May.*—A fleet of victuallers sailed for Cork.

*11th.*—Arrived here from England H.M. ship *Augusta*.

*27th.*—Arrived the Sandwich packet and two ships with troops from England.

*28th.*—This day went to Fort Knyphausen in a coach, by the admiral's order, with Sir William Erskine and Colonel Paterson, to view the ground about Kingsbridge and to choose a proper station for the Richmond to cover the left flank of our troops stationed there. Arrived the *Nonsuch*, *Camel*, and *Bute* from England, with some transports.

*3rd June.*—Arrived several transports from England with troops.

*5th.*—Anchored here the *Somerset*.

<sup>1</sup> On the *Eagle*'s paybook, Duncan was discharged to the supernumerary list on April 30, with a note 'appointed adjutant-general to the admiral.' Afterwards, by Admiralty Order of May 18, 1779, he was put on the half-pay list from May 1, 1777, with the note 'affidavit dispensed with.'

<sup>2</sup> Curtis's confirmed commission was dated April 30. This seems to be the beginning of his intimacy with Lord Howe, which led to his being captain of the fleet on June 1, 1794.



8th.—Arrived the Isis and Swift ; likewise the Despatch, with some transports from England.

12th.—Arrived the Mercury from England.

13th.—The Richmond came down the North River and sailed hence with the <sup>1</sup> packet.

17th.—Anchored here the St. Albans from England. About this time I went to Amboy to command at the embarking of the troops from thence to Staten Island. The army quitted Brunswick (I cannot say the particular day) and came to Amboy ; the rebels fired some shot with cannon, but took care always to keep a gully or two between our people and their guns. They likewise harassed our rear a little, but no considerable execution was done on either side ; I believe the rebels sustained the greatest loss. The general and his army arrived at Amboy. Employed for several days transporting troops and baggage to Staten Island, and when I every hour expected to have direction to prepare for carrying off the remainder of the troops, I found they had made a speedy march back on the Brunswick road. They came up unexpectedly with several considerable bodies of the rebels, which they drove off with some slaughter ; took three brass field-pieces, and returned to Amboy with very little loss.

28th *June, Saturday*.—This evening completed transporting the baggage, &c., of the army to Staten Island. Went with General Howe and placed the Vigilant armed ship in a proper station for covering the right flank of the army on their quitting Amboy, the Cornwallis and other galleys and armed vessels in the river going to Elizabeth Town, to cover the left. Tents and everything were carried across this day, and nothing left to be moved to-morrow but the troops.

29th, *Sunday*.—About ten o'clock began to

<sup>1</sup> Blank in MS.

embark the troops. About two they were all across, except the last embarkation, which consisted of pretty near five thousand men. These were all embarked with great deliberation, leaving about two companies of light infantry on the hill. The troops embarked in the boats lay on their oars close to the beach, ready to land if the rebels had made their appearance; these would have been landed, and the other troops were on the beach at Staten Island, ready to step into the boats, had there been occasion, so that about 10,000 troops would have been on shore again at Amboy in a quarter of an hour, or before the rebels could have attacked the rearguard. None appearing, the general came off with the two companies of light infantry, seemingly a good deal disappointed at the rebels not coming. He expressed to me his satisfaction at the method of the army's being transported. The army marched across Staten Island to the watering-place, and were there embarked on board transports. The general, his two first aide-de-camps, and secretary, embarked in the Eagle.

*16th July.*—Weighed and made sail. The wind coming contrary, anchored again. Got down to Staten Island the next day.

*19th.*—Anchored here the Apollo, Solebay, Tartar, and Milford; the latter with a convoy from the Bay of Fundy.

*20th.*—Made the signal for sailing, but, by reason of calms and contrary winds, did not get out at the Hook till the morning of the 23rd, when we got clear out with all the fleet, consisting of about 270 sail.

*30th July.*—Got off the Capes of the Delaware. Here the Roebuck joined us. Though our course had all along been for this place, on the above joining us, from the intelligence received from her

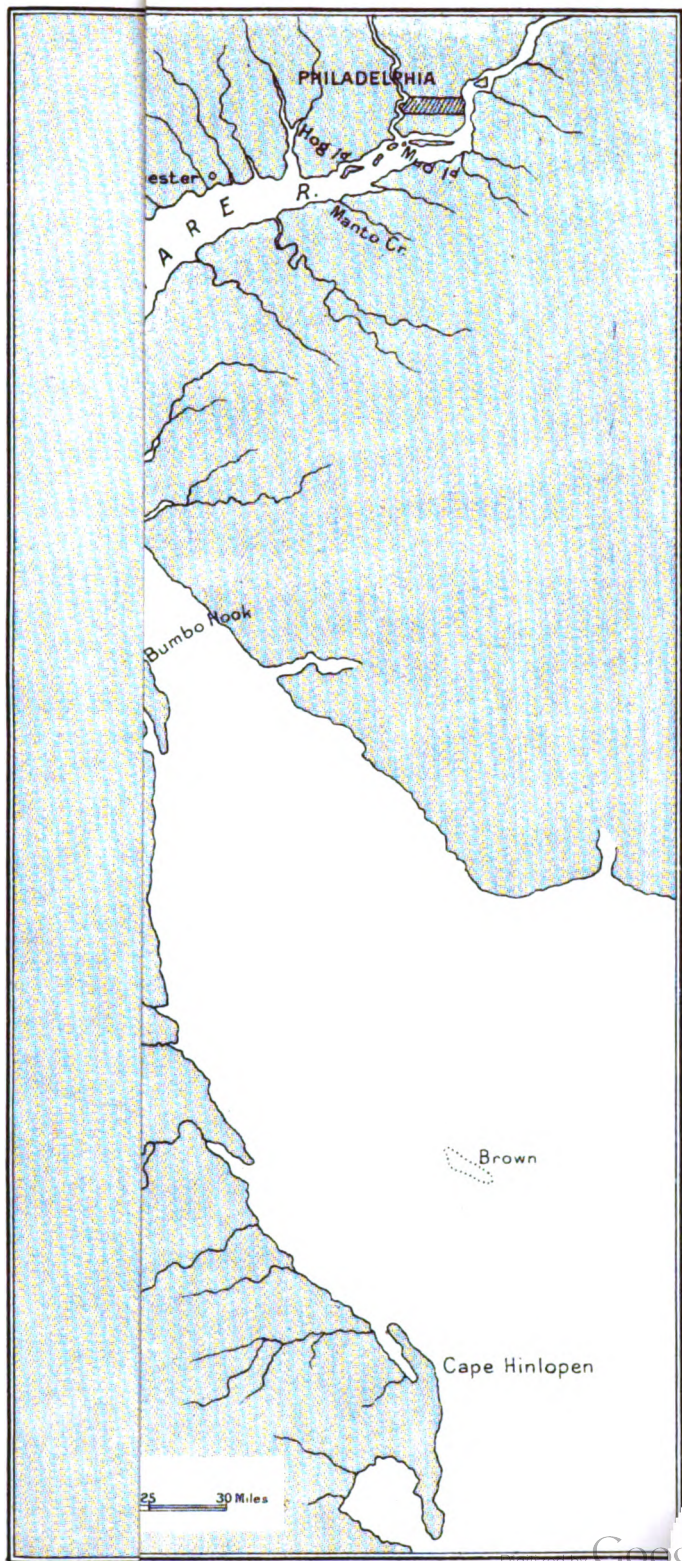
the admiral and general thought proper to steer to the southward; but by reason of calms and contrary winds we did not arrive at the Capes of Virginia until the 15th August. Captain Hamond preceded the fleet up the bay, and placed vessels to mark the shoals on both sides. We met with no difficulty until we got above Pool's Island, where the water was very shoal. We were obliged to come to an anchor and send the boats a-sounding. The boats continued ahead, one on each bow, about two cable lengths off, showing the sounding by the motion of their flags. The ship got up to the higher side of Sassafra River, about three or four miles below Turkey Point.

*23rd August.*—Went with the admiral and general a-reconnoitring all round, from Pisutee Island to Turkey Point, to look for a proper place to land the troops either at the Susquehanna<sup>1</sup> or between that and the North-East River. Could find no place that was fit, as the water was too shoal to suffer the transports to come near.

*24th.*—Went with the admiral about Turkey Point. This night everything was settled for landing the troops next morning, the command of which was given to me.

*25th August.*—Early in the morning between four and five thousand troops, with twelve pieces of cannon, were embarked in boats, and at daybreak proceeded up the river Elk. They were followed by the transports carrying the remainder of the troops. The Roebuck, Vigilant, Apollo, Swift, and some armed vessels were to cover the landing, but, owing to little wind, they did not all get into their station. About ten o'clock pushed ashore and landed the troops that were in the boats at a

<sup>1</sup> Susquehanock in MS.





tolerable good landing-place six or seven miles up the Elk, on the larboard shore, directly opposite to the Cecil County Court House. Landed without opposition, and by this time the transports carrying the second debarkation of troops anchored off the landing-place; continued to debark, and by evening all the troops, with a considerable part of the cannon and baggage, were on shore.

I think it was about four days after the landing, perhaps the 29th,<sup>1</sup> that the general marched up to Elk Town. I went there in my boat and fixed upon stations for several armed vessels for keeping the communication open by water. Arrived at the Head of Elk, and found the general here with the greatest part of the army. They remained here a few days, and were supplied with provisions, &c., by the small vessels and boats that came up to the Head of Elk.

About Monday, the 1st, or Tuesday, the 2nd September, the general with a part of the army marched off towards Philadelphia, and looking for Washington's army. He was joined by General Knyphausen and Grey, with another part of the army that had been carried across to the Court House, and marched up the other side of the river; General Grant was left at the Head of the Elk to bring forward a supply of provisions.

*6th September, Saturday.*—After having landed all the provision that the army wanted, leaving an additional supply in small vessels under the care of the armed vessels, and having sent down all the sick and wounded of the army, returned to the ship. The admiral was very well satisfied with my proceedings.

*13th, Saturday.*—The admiral received a letter

<sup>1</sup> Stedman says the 28th.

from the general informing him that on Thursday, the 11th, he had an engagement with Washington's army near [Chad's Ford];<sup>1</sup> that our left column, commanded by Lord Cornwallis, were very much fatigued, having marched the whole day to get round Washington's right; but nevertheless, when they got up with the rebels, they fell upon them with so much fury that there was no resisting them. When the action began here, the Generals Knyp-hausen and Grant were to begin, which they did at a ford on the Brandywine Creek, where the rebels had thrown up an entrenchment and got seventeen pieces of cannon in it. Both attacks went forward; the rebels were drove in every quarter, and at last ran off in the utmost confusion. Had it not been so late (five o'clock) before the attack could be begun, and the troops less fatigued, most probably this day would have put an end to the rebellion. We lost about 400 killed and wounded; the rebels 900 and twelve pieces of cannon. In the general's letter to the admiral he says, 'I want nothing more from you, but wish to see you and the fleet at Philadelphia as soon as possible.' Moved everything down the Chesapeake as fast as possible and got to the mouth of it without any loss, although we had several hard gales of wind, by the 28th September. The convoy was put under the command of Captain Griffith,<sup>2</sup> of the *Nonsuch*, who wore a distinguishing blue pennant as a commodore; and we, with the *Isis*, *Vigilant*, and *Haarlem*, with a small convoy of

<sup>1</sup> Blank in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Griffith. He was specially promoted to post rank on December 11, 1759, for having discovered the sailing of the Brest fleet on November 15, and sent word to Hawke and the admiralty. He was slain in fight with the French in Fort Royal Bay on December 18, 1779. 'The service,' wrote Rear-Admiral Hyde Parker, 'cannot lose a better man or a better officer.'

twelve sail, containing such things as the army would be most in want of, proceeded on for the Delaware as fast as possible. Towards sunset on the 26th had got within seven or eight leagues of Cape Henlopen, when the wind came to the NW, and blew so strong that it drove us and the whole fleet off the coast and down to the southward.

4th October, Saturday.—Arrived in the Delaware and run up that same evening as far as the Brown. The Thames, with a convoy of victuallers, arrived at same time from York.

5th, Sunday.—Run up to Bombo Hook.

6th.—Got up to Chester. Found riding on the river several of our frigates, and a little way above Chester, five or six miles, saw the Roebuck and several frigates. Our people were destroying the fort at Billings Port, the fort on the Jersey shore, which protected the eastern end of the lower *chevaux de frise*;<sup>1</sup> it was burned down this evening, and our people quitted it. A number of shot were fired from the galleys and armed vessels lying above the *chevaux de frise*.

7th.—This morning the Roebuck and frigates dropped down to us; at midday they went up to Billings Port again.

8th.—This day went with the admiral up to Billings Port reconnoitring the shipping, &c., and Mud, or Fort Island.<sup>2</sup> This evening a smart cannonade from the galleys, and, as we supposed, a battery of ours newly erected at the hospital opposite to Mud Island on the Pennsylvania shore.

9th.—The cannonade continued this morning,

<sup>1</sup> Stedman describes these as immense beams of timber, bolted together, and stuck with large iron spikes fastened in every direction. Three rows of these were sunk across the channel a little below the mouth of the Schuylkill.

<sup>2</sup> The map shows these as two different islands.



but ceased about noon. Expresses arrived frequently from the generals, sometimes by a party of horse, others by country people.

10<sup>th</sup>.—This day went down to Newcastle to send off a fleet of transports for York, and to transact several other matters.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Went to Wilmington and settled with the commanding officers about the removal of the sick and prisoners.

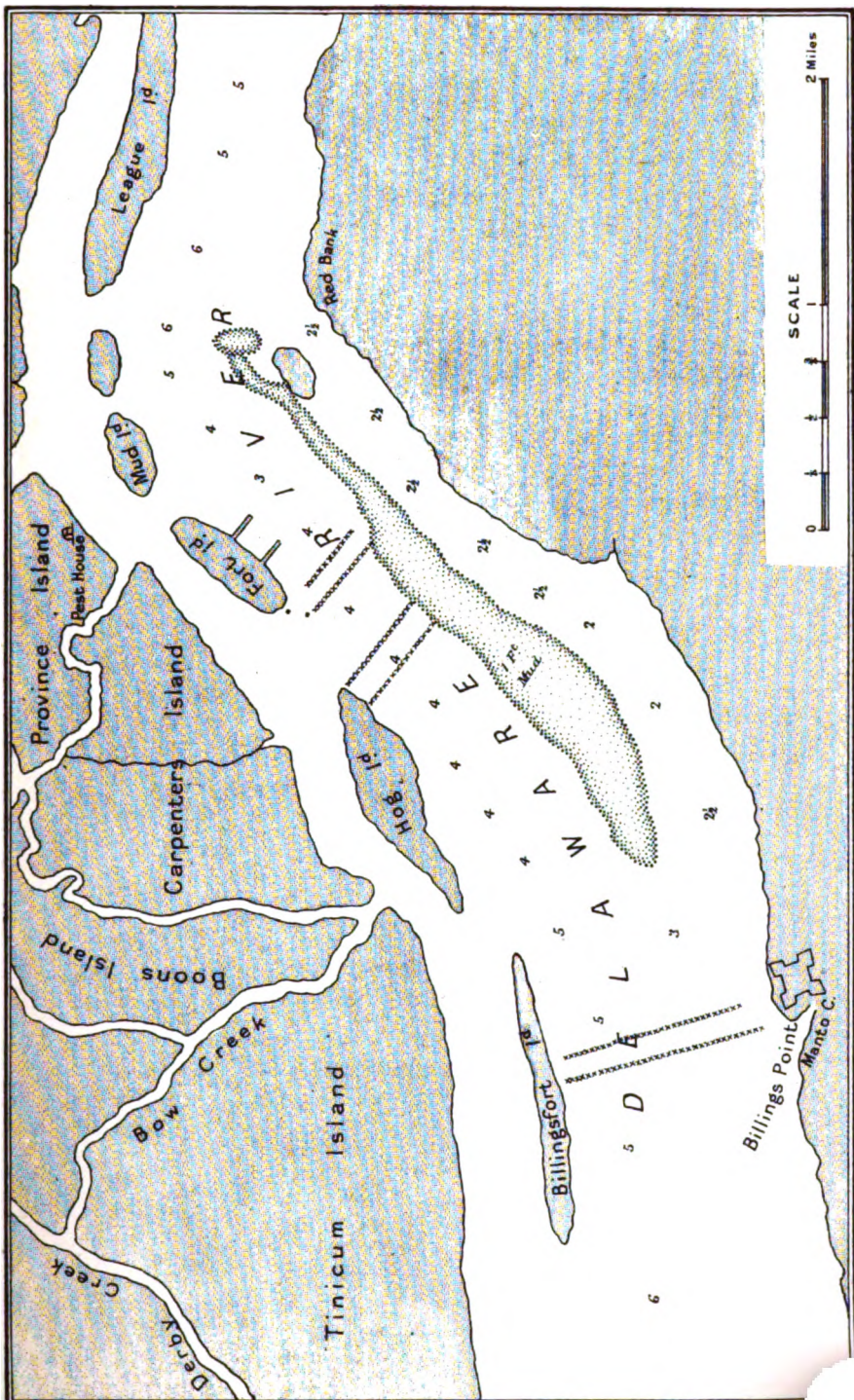
12<sup>th</sup>.—This morning went up the western passage with the admiral on board the *Camilla*, from which I went on board the *Roebuck* and ships at Billings Port. At this time (from 10 to 1) there was a severe cannonade from the island battery, floating batteries, galleys, &c., at a place opposite to them on the Pennsylvania shore, where it was supposed our people were erecting a battery against them. Some few shot were returned.

13<sup>th</sup>.—This morning about half-past one the rebels sent down a fire raft against the ships at Billings Port and another about half-past three. These were followed by their galleys to prevent our boats from soon taking hold of them to tow them clear of the ships. They fired a great number of shot at the boats employed on the rafts and some at the ships.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Nothing remarkable. Captains Reynolds and Ourry went to Wilmington to hasten the embarkation of the troops from thence. I went to Billings Port to see how they went on with removing the *chevaux de frise*.

15<sup>th</sup>.—A thick fog from about two in the morning to ten forenoon.

16<sup>th</sup>.—A cannonade without intermission continues above, and several guns fired from Red Bank, a new battery erected by the rebels; a very heavy fire from the rebels at noon. When the admiral



THE DELAWARE BELOW PHILADELPHIA.



returned, he informed me that it was a salute from the rebels on hearing some good news from the northward; that the rebels had totally defeated General Burgoyne, taken his sick and wounded, baggage, and ten pieces of cannon.<sup>1</sup>

17th.—At two this morning Colonel Pownall arrived from York, and brought with him Lord Rawdon, who informs that they were straight from New York, and by very late intelligence nothing had happened to General Burgoyne; and that Sir H. Clinton had proceeded up Hudson's River with an army from New York, had taken Forts Montgomery and Clinton by storm,<sup>2</sup> with no very considerable loss on our side, but pretty much so to the rebels. They took about seventy pieces of cannon; and with those the rebels lost in the two frigates they themselves set on fire, their loss in cannon amounted to at least a hundred pieces, from 32-pounders downwards. This afternoon a fleet of transports came up the river and brought up the garrison of Wilmington, who made up a body of about 2,000 men; this night and the morning of the 18th they were landed at Chester.

19th October, Sunday.—At 11 a.m. I landed at Chester, and set out with an escort of dragoons for head-quarters at German Town. At 3 p.m. arrived there.

20th.—This evening twelve flat-boats arrived here with provision; one of our sentinels fired at the boats and killed one man. A heavy cannonade down at the *chevaux de frise*.

21st.—Carried over from the upper part of the town 2,400 Hessians, with their artillery, and under the command of Colonel von Donop, to Cooper's Hook, on the Jersey shore, to go against Red Bank.

<sup>1</sup> On October 7.

<sup>2</sup> On October 6.

22<sup>nd</sup>.—This evening had an account that Colonel von Donop had failed in his attack on Red Bank; he himself was wounded and taken, and died two days after.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—At daylight a very heavy cannonade from our ships against Mud Island fort, which was returned by it and all the galleys and floating batteries. At 11 a.m. the *Augusta* took fire and burnt to the water edge; at twelve she blew up. At this time, the *Merlin* being on shore and no possibility of getting off, she was set on fire and burnt. The night between the 23<sup>rd</sup> and the 24<sup>th</sup> the troops returned from Red Bank.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Major Cuyler left Philadelphia with the general's despatches to go home in one of the packets.

31<sup>st</sup>.—This day an officer arrived from General Burgoyne, who gave an account that our northern army under his command, being reduced low in provision, and surrounded with a numerous army, had made a convention<sup>1</sup> with the rebels to give up their arms and ammunition, to march to Boston, and from thence be sent by us at our expense to England, and they not to serve against America during the present contest. The rebels got a large part of our artillery, [and] twelve or thirteen thousand stand of arms.

10<sup>th</sup> November.—This morning at daylight opened the following batteries against Fort Island: two 32-pounders and one 12-pounder at the Pest Houses; six 24-pounders, one howitzer, and one 8-inch mortar opposite to the highest blockhouse on the island; about 100 yards to the right of the last-mentioned battery, one howitzer and one 8-inch mortar; a little to the right and ninety yards in

<sup>1</sup> On October 15; the actual surrender was on the 17<sup>th</sup>.

advance, a 13-inch mortar. These batteries played with success for two or three days.

13<sup>th</sup>.—In the morning brought down a floating battery with two 32-pounders. This fired for a few hours, but, the breastwork not being proof, the rebel shot came through. The people left it until the evening, then got one of the guns upon a wharf opposite to the wharf on the island. This gun did great execution in the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup>. This morning about nine o'clock the Vigilant and a small sloop fitted to carry three 18-pounders on one side came up the Hog Island or western channel and placed themselves close to the blockhouse on the lower corner of the island, while the Isis, Pearl, Roebuck, Liverpool, and Somerset came up the eastern or main channel. The Isis threw many shot into the island; the other ships were mostly engaged with a battery on the Jersey shore, a little above Mantua Creek,<sup>1</sup> and with a number of galleys, two floating batteries, and two xebecs. Our loss was very trifling considering the heavy fire that was against the ships from the island, &c.; about seven men killed and wounded. The island was soon silenced after the ships were placed, especially that part near the Vigilant. This evening got the Vigilant and sloop close to the island, ready to make a breach in the morning.

16<sup>th</sup> November, Sunday Morning.—About one o'clock the rebels set fire to the barracks, &c., and quitted the island. We took possession at daylight. I found the fort a mere wreck; everything torn to pieces by our shot coming in all directions, and marks of much bloodshed. I went to Philadelphia to the general, and then returned to the ship, with direction for the troops in ships lately arrived from York to be disembarked at Billings Port.

<sup>1</sup> Manto in MS. and in the map.

17th.—These ships went up this day.

18th.—The troops lately from York, and about 2,000 men that marched from Philadelphia to Chester with Lord Cornwallis, were landed at Billings Port under his lordship's command.

20th.—This night the rebels abandoned Red Bank and burned most of their vessels. Seven of the galleys got up above the town.

25th November.—This day the boats attended to carry Lord Cornwallis and his army from the Jerseys to Philadelphia. A few accidents have happened to some of the victuallers in going through the *chevaux de frise*. One sunk between the piers, and stopped up the channel, but she was removed on the evening of the 3rd December.

4th December.—The Eagle packet sailed for Falmouth.

5th.—This morning about two o'clock the general moved forward with the greatest part of the army in search of the rebel army. About daylight they got two or three miles beyond German Town and in sight of the rebels' camp, which was found to be very strongly situated; this evening Captain Mulcaster,<sup>1</sup> one of the aide-de-camps, returned to town with three regiments, and brought with him a rebel brigadier-general and a few other prisoners.

6th.—Major Bruen arrived in town, and in the morning of the 7th set out with three regiments, convoying a quantity of provisions for the army. I have forgot the day the army returned, but they found Mr. Washington so strongly posted that it was thought unadvisable to attack him.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Mulcaster, a lieutenant in the army of 1760. After the peace of 1763 he presumably settled in America, and was now serving as captain of a company of volunteers. He appears in the Army List as appointed a lieutenant in the 2nd regiment, in 1778; and as captain in the 99th on June 7, 1780.

Some foraging parties went out now and then from the town, and a number of small vessels for the same purpose to Tinnicume Island and down the river.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—We weighed and run down the river and anchored at dark three miles above Christeen.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Weighed, run down the river, and anchored at Newcastle.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Went down and anchored off Reedy Island.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Weighed about nine in the morning and run down the river. In going down, the ship got in shoal water and did not steer; she came round against her helm. Threw all aback; as there was a good breeze of wind she backed off and got into the channel. At dark got out from between the Capes and steered for Rhode Island, where we arrived on Friday, the 2nd January, 1778. Found Sir Peter Parker here in the Bristol, and many other ships of war. Soon after we got in, it came on to blow hard and thick weather.

1778.

7<sup>th</sup> February.—A hard gale of wind. The Amazon drove, touched the rocks, and cut away her masts; she was got off and carried within the island to refit.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Sailed hence for England the Chatham, Buffalo, Tortoise, and three merchant ships.

16<sup>th</sup>.—The Juno and Cerberus, with a convoy of transports, sailed for Cape Cod Harbour, to carry home General Burgoyne's army.

28<sup>th</sup>.—The Brune sailed with a convoy of hay vessels for Philadelphia.

8<sup>th</sup> March.—The Diamond sailed with a convoy of hay vessels for Philadelphia.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—We sailed from Rhode Island for New



York. When we got near the lighthouse, were taken with a gale of wind to the eastward, which obliged us to carry sail to get off the shore. The gale took off suddenly, and we shipped a heavy sea in at the starboard quarter gallery.

*7th April.*—Anchored at the Hook. I went up to New York to transact the business that was to be done there, particularly with Commodore Hotham and at the shipyard.

*13th.*—The *Andromeda* arrived from England.

*17th.*—We sailed for the Delaware and arrived at Billings Port the 23rd.

*1st May.*—This day I went to Philadelphia, where I remained almost all the time until the army quitted it, with the admiral.

*26th.*—Sailed hence *Andromeda*, with General Sir William Howe on board.

*1st June.*—The *Eagle* got down to Newcastle and anchored there.

*7th June.*—Lord Carlisle, William Eden, Esq., and Governor-General Johnstone arrived here from England as commissioners. Lord Howe and Sir Henry Clinton were likewise included in the commission; the former declined acting.

*19th.*—After all the necessary preparation had been made, and a considerable part of the army carried across to the Jersey shore, the rear-guard of 9,000 were this day taken off at Gloucester point, and landed on the opposite shore. I then proceeded down the river, seeing every vessel and boat down before me. The *Vigilant* got aground near Red Bank. In the evening saw a party of our troops; they were a foraging party of 200 from Billings Port that had been cut off by the rebels from getting back. Took them off in the boats and sent them to join their corps.

*20th.*—Got the *Vigilant* off and proceeded down

the river in her, and ordered all the ships of war to join the admiral at Newcastle.

21<sup>st</sup>.—In the morning weighed and sailed from Newcastle. The fleet of transports were divided in several divisions, and put under the direction of captains appointed for each. Anchored several times in the river.

28<sup>th</sup>.—Got out of the Delaware and stood for New York. In our passage there, spoke a packet express to the admiral, who informed us that a French fleet were sailed,<sup>1</sup> and that she had been chased by them more than halfway to this country, and by the course they were steering there was no doubt but that they were bound for the continent of North America.

1<sup>st</sup> July.—Anchored outside the Hook; Sir H. Clinton was arrived near there, and sent off an express requesting to see me as soon as possible. The admiral went with me, and we met Sir Henry at the Neversink.

2<sup>nd</sup>.—Began to embark the baggage, &c., and to swim the horses across to the Hook. The only ships at the Hook were the Eagle, Trident, Isis, Phoenix, and two or three frigates.

5<sup>th</sup>.—The cannon, baggage, and part of the army being embarked, made a bridge of the flat boats across the gully that separated the Hook from the Neversink, over which the army marched with great ease. Took away the boats, and embarked the troops from the Hook.

6<sup>th</sup>.—Anchored at Staten's Island.

11<sup>th</sup> July.—At 2 o'clock p.m., the French fleet, consisting of twelve two-decked ships and three frigates, anchored at the back of the Hook. At this time we had only the Preston, Somerset, Nonsuch,

<sup>1</sup> The French fleet, under the Comte d'Estaing, sailed from Toulon on April 13.

St. Albans, Phoenix, Roebuck. The Eagle, Trident, Ardent, Isis, and Richmond were anchored a little below the Narrows. At five, the Eagle and the ships with her joined those at Sandy Hook; the whole force when collected consisted of six 64-gun ships, two fifties, the Experiment, two forty-fours, and two or three frigates. These were drawn up in order at the Hook to receive the French fleet. Our ships in general were but very indifferently manned, owing to sickness and their being short of complement.

13th July.—The Stromboli fireship joined the fleet.

15th.—Two hundred volunteers from the transports and private traders came to serve in the fleet.

21st.—The Leviathan<sup>1</sup> storeship joined the fleet; she was fitted with two 32-pounders, three 24-pounders, and eleven 18-pounders for her lower deck, [and] her proper upper-deck guns, and [was] manned with volunteers, the whole number of which that served in the fleet until Lord Howe quitted the command amounted to about 1,000. They were discharged on his lordship's leaving the country, agreeable to his promise.

22nd.—At 9 a.m. the French fleet got under way, and stood off and on until 4 p.m., when they all stood to the seaward.

25th, p.m.—The Renown anchored here from the West Indies.

28th.—The Raisonnable joined us from Halifax.

31st, p.m.—The Cornwall, one of Admiral Byron's fleet, and the Centurion, from Halifax, joined the fleet. Two transports were fitted at New York as fireships and joined us here. They were named the Sulphur and Volcano.

<sup>1</sup> As to this ship, see *Journal of Rear-Admiral Bartholomew James* (N.R.S. vi.), pp. 87–89.

*1st August.*—The 23rd regiment came on board the fleet to serve as volunteers.

*2nd.*—At noon, weighed with the fleet, consisting of the Eagle, Cornwall, Somerset, Isis, Preston, Ardent, Renown, Nonsuch, Centurion, Trident, Raisonnable, St. Albans, Experiment, Phoenix, Roebuck, Apollo, Richmond, Venus, Pearl, Vigilant, Stromboli, Sulphur, Volcano, Carcass, Thunder, two bomb tenders, and four galleys. Half-past one the wind headed us. Anchored with the fleet short of the bar. From this time to the 5th the fleet could not get over the bar.

*5th, 3 p.m.*—Weighed, and got over the bar. It falling calm and hazy, anchored seven or eight miles outside of the lighthouse.

*6th, 10 p.m.*—Weighed.

*9th.*—Half-past 1 p.m., saw Rhode Island; at seven, anchored off the harbour. The French fleet were in it, lying near Conanicut.

*10th.*—At half-past 8 a.m. the wind shifted in a squall and came to the northward. The French fleet immediately cut their cables and came to sea. We got under way and stood to the southward under an easy sail, in order to form. The French fleet were so long of coming near us, as the wind shifted in a squall; and the time of day drawing on when it was usual to have the wind from the sea—these reasons, I suppose, induced the admiral to continue standing off from the French fleet, in hopes of a change of wind, when he could have made use of the fireships. In the evening the French fleet were five or six miles astern of us. Sent the Apollo between them and us, to keep sight of them and to make signals to us.

*11th.*—At 3 a.m. saw the French fleet steering after us. They consisted of twelve two-decked ships; two 90-, six 74-, three 64-, and one 50-gun

M

ships. Course, SE by S ; wind, E by N ; fresh breezes and thick hazy weather. At 8 a.m. altered course to South ; half-past ten, to SW by W ; at half-past eleven, to West ; half-past one, to NW. By these different changes of course, which were performed in succession from the van, our fleet made a considerable circle ; and the French continuing to steer for our rear, they got so far to leeward that by four o'clock the greater part of our fleet, had they tacked, could have weathered the French fleet ;<sup>1</sup> but by this time the wind had increased to a gale, with a great sea, so that we should now been deprived of the use of the fire-ships ; nor indeed would it [have] been prudent to have brought two fleets to action in such weather and so late in the day, when nothing decisive could possibly be done. A little before dark the French bore away SW by W, and soon after we brought to on the starboard tack. During this night, between the 11th and 12th, it blew very hard, with a great sea. At daylight in the morning of the 12th, only seventeen sail of our fleet were in sight. Saw nothing of the French fleet. At 1 p.m. the Apollo lost her main and mizen topmasts ; at midnight lost sight of the Apollo.

On the morning of the 14th the gale abated. Commodore Elliot<sup>2</sup> hoisted his pennant on board the Eagle, and bore up for Sandy Hook with the Trident, Cornwall, Somerset, Nonsuch, and three

<sup>1</sup> At this time Howe went on board the Apollo, where he hoisted his flag. It is strange that Duncan does not mention it, though he does mention Howe's return to the Eagle on the 18th.

<sup>2</sup> John Elliot, captain of the *Æolus*, and commander of the squadron that demolished Thurot off Ramsay, on February 28, 1760, in an action which—wrote Nelson with some exaggeration—'will stand the test with any of our modern victories.' He afterwards commanded the naval defence of Gibraltar during a few months ; and died, an admiral, in 1808.

other ships. Anchored outside the Hook the evening of the 17th.

18<sup>th</sup>.—At 1 p.m. the admiral anchored here in the Phoenix. Shifted his flag to the Eagle, and the commodore's pennant to his proper ship.<sup>1</sup> All the fleet arrived at the Hook, except the Thunder bomb, and a small galley. The former was taken by the French; the latter drove on the Jersey shore, the people all saved. Considerable damage was done to several of the ships in the late gale; the Isis, in an engagement, had her masts and yards and sails cut so much that she was obliged to go to York to refit. In the afternoon the Monmouth joined us; she was disabled in her masts and yards, but was refitted with the greatest expedition.

24<sup>th</sup>.—In the morning got under way with the fleet, and anchored outside the bar at 10 a.m.

25<sup>th</sup>.—At 10 a.m. weighed with the fleet, and steered for Rhode Island. On our passage there the admiral received advice of the French fleet being sailed from thence. His lordship concluded that they must be gone for Boston to refit their two largest ships, that had lost their masts in the gale of wind; and in that state that they would be obliged to go to the northward of St. George's Bank. His lordship therefore pushed our fleet with the greatest expedition through between Nantucket and St. George's Bank, in hopes of getting to Boston before them.

We arrived there the 30th August, and found the French fleet there, but in such a situation as to give us reason to believe that they had been but shortly arrived.

2<sup>nd</sup> September.—In the evening, stood close

<sup>1</sup> The Trident.

in to Boston, and found that the French were removed higher up the harbour, under the batteries of the islands and Nantucket Head, from which, and having stayed two or three days off the port, it was reasonable to suppose that the enemy had no intention to come out, and it was impracticable to attack them in their present position; the admiral, therefore, made the best of his way with the fleet for Rhode Island. On our arrival there we found that the rebels had quitted it. After settling some business there, made the best of our way to New York, where we arrived the afternoon of the 11th September. Admiral Parker,<sup>1</sup> with the greatest part of Admiral Byron's fleet, were arrived.

*24th September.*—Sailed from the Hook. Arrived at Rhode Island the 25th, where we found Admiral Byron and the Culloden; sailed from thence the 26th, at daylight, for England.

N.B.—Between the 20th August and the 24th, the fleet sent 350 or 400 men to the hospital.

*7th October.*—Spoke a snow from Newfoundland, bound to the Mediterranean.

*23rd.*—At daybreak, saw five sail close to us upon the weather bow. We were steering SE by E, wind at SW. Altered course one point to the eastward. The ships were two French men-of-war of 74 guns; the one an admiral with a white flag at the mizen topmast head. They were lying to with their head to the WNW. They bore up after us, and made sail in a very unseamanlike manner; and instead of steering athwart us, suffered us to pass them. The admiral got upon our star-

<sup>1</sup> Rear-admiral Hyde Parker the elder. As vice-admiral, he commanded in the action on the Doggerbank, August 5, 1781. In July 1782 he succeeded to a baronetcy; and going out to the East Indies in the *Cato*, was lost at sea. The ship was never heard of after leaving Rio de Janeiro on December 12, 1782.

board quarter, about three-quarters of a mile off; shivered his main and fore sail; ported his helm, and fired his upper deck guns at us. We took no notice of this, but kept on our course. By their bad management they dropped astern, and never got within gunshot of us again. Between 9 and 10 a.m. they left off chase. The other vessels in company with them were one that had the appearance of a frigate, a brig, and schooner.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Arrived at St. Helens on October 25, having narrowly escaped an attack from a squadron of French ships of the line near the chops of the Channel' (Barrow, *Life of Lord Howe*, 116). The little affair is, naturally enough, not mentioned by French historians, but Chevalier has: 'Des détachements de l'escadre de d'Orvilliers furent envoyés en croisière à l'ouverture de la Manche' (*Hist. de la Marine française*, i. 103).



*MEDEA, 1780.*

*24th September, 1780, Sunday.*—Received a letter from Mr. Stephen, acquainting me that their lordships had appointed me to the command of the *Medea* of 28 guns, at Spithead.

*25th.*—Went with the Governor<sup>1</sup> and paid a visit to Lord Howe at Maristow.

*26th.*—Returned to Dartmouth.

*29th.*—Set out for, and arrived at Portsmouth the 1st October.

*2nd October.*—Took up my commission.

*3rd.*—Went on board the ship and superseded Captain James Montagu,<sup>2</sup> who was appointed to the *Juno*, a new ship of 32 guns.

*6th.*—Sat upon a court-martial to try an officer of marines, named, in the order for trial, William Fortye; the court proceeded to trial, but it appeared in evidence that the prisoner's name was Thomas and not William; therefore the court thought they were not authorised to proceed to sentence. This day my orders came down, but I did not receive them from Sir Thomas Pye till Sunday [8th October].

*8th.*—Went on board and got under way, with the wind at south, blowing very hard. Got to Cowes Road and anchored. It blew a heavy gale of wind and continued so in the SW quarter until

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Holdsworth, who was also Howe's colleague as M.P. for Dartmouth.

<sup>2</sup> Slain in the battle of June 1, 1794, when in command of the *Montagu*.

Wednesday afternoon, 11th, but still blows fresh at west.

11th *October*.—This afternoon sent to Portsmouth and returned a cutter and two messengers, and got others in lieu. One man deserted from the boat; the lieutenant pressed three, released one of them, and sent him on board a collier. On the forenoon of the 12th weighed and worked down to Yarmouth Roads [Isle of Wight], then squally weather; fine weather and moderate towards evening, the wind at WNW.

13th.—A fresh breeze of wind from West to SSW.

14th.—The wind still in the SW quarter.

15th, *Sunday*.—The wind continued till half after 4 p.m., then came to SSE; unmoored ship, and hove in to one-third of a cable. By this time, quarter after five, it came little wind, with very heavy rain, thunder, and lightning, which brought the wind to the WSW. Half after nine it began to clear up, and blew strong; veered away and moored. It blew a hard gale of wind in the night; lowered the lower yards down.

16th.—It has continued to blow very hard all this day from the WSW. Ever since I came on board we have on every convenient occasion exercised the great guns and small arms; I have now laid aside the crows and handspikes, and work the guns entirely with the tackles.<sup>1</sup>

17th.—All the forenoon and till evening the wind to the westward; towards dark it fell calm; in the night between the 17th and 18th the wind came to the NE.

18th.—At half-past 3 a.m. unmoored, and at seven got under way. It came in very foggy, and not

<sup>1</sup> This was the method then newly introduced by Sir Charles Douglas.

wind enough to stem the tide. Anchored. At nine a little more wind, and something clearer. Weighed between twelve and one; got through the Needles with a breeze at NE. That evening got the length of Portland. At 9 p.m. the wind came to the westward and blew strong. From this time we beat with a strong westerly wind, most part of the time under courses until Saturday evening, the 21st, when we got off Dartmouth. Early in the morning of the 22nd made sail to the westward, and got as far as Start Point; but, the wind coming to the westward and blowing strong, bore up for and anchored in Torbay at 11 a.m. At 1 p.m. the grand fleet of twenty-two sail of the line, under the command of Vice-Admiral of the white Darby, Vice of the blue Drake, and Rear of the red Digby, who had sailed the night before for the westward, anchored in the bay.

The 23rd and 24th it blew strong from the westward.

25th.—The wind still westerly, but more moderate. Got out of the bay about 10 o'clock a.m.; stood in off Dartmouth; put Mrs. D. and Iso<sup>1</sup> on shore and made sail to the westward, the wind at NW by W. In the night between the 25th and 26th the Fox came up with us; cleared ship for her.

26th, *Thursday*.—Lay our course down Channel.

27th.—A fair wind, but had no observation.

28th.—The wind continued, going five, six, seven, and eight knots; steering W by N. This day had an observation, and, although we had steered these two days past W by N, we were obliged to allow her a SW by W course to make the reckoning agree with the observation. I found the same southerly current going to America in the Eagle in

<sup>1</sup> His daughter Isabella, afterwards Mrs. Troysdon.

May 1776 ; in these two days we were not out less in our latitude than forty or fifty miles.

29th.—Fine moderate weather, the wind to the eastward. Saw a sail at 2 p.m. right ahead. Continued our course W by N until dark ; the vessel ahead was a brig on the larboard tack ; and as she was at a considerable distance, I imagined that she might not have seen us ; therefore, after we lost sight of her, I altered course to WSW, in hopes of meeting her ; but we saw no more of her, although it was a fine clear night.

30th.—Fine weather, the wind from the southward.

31st ; *Wednesday, 1st, and Thursday, 2nd November.*—A strong gale about East and ENE. Two great runs these days ; the southerly current still continues ; though we steered W by N, found that by observation our course was to the southward of WSW ; now 300 leagues from the Start.

The 3rd, 4th, 5th, and until 8 a.m. of the 6th, the fair wind continued, ending in a strong gale from the SE. From thence it went to the eastward and round to the NW, and blew very strong, but did not last. The fair wind carried us 560 leagues from the Start. In the night between the 6th and 7th, wore ship, which is the first time we have either wore or tacked since we left the Start. When about 100 leagues to the westward of the Western Isles, the great set to the southward began to abate a little, but still we found a great southern set about 150 leagues to the westward of the Western Isles. Found the variation per azimuth 18' or 19'.

7th.—At 10 a.m. the wind at NW, blowing very hard. Lay to. The wind continued in the NW quarter for two days, but did not blow so hard as at first ; the wind then came from the SW to SSE, and continued till Monday morning, the 13th, at

half-past 7 a.m., when we saw a sail bearing north. Laid the ship's head towards her. Little or no wind and a great swell from the northward. In the night a breeze of wind sprung up; made sail to the westward.

*16th, Thursday.*—About half after 2 p.m. saw a sail standing towards us, she upon the starboard and we upon the larboard tack, the wind about West. Kept away two or three points and made sail; as soon as she saw us she put before the wind and crowded [sail] from us; we chased her and came up with her very fast, but night coming on lost sight of her. Hauled our wind to the southward, kept under an easy sail all night. I was in hopes that she would resume her course in the night, and that we should see her. In the morning saw nothing of the chase. This day, 17th, killed a dolphin in the latitude  $39^{\circ}$  N, longitude  $55^{\circ}$  W. In the evening a flying-fish about one foot long flew on board and hit one of the men in the face; put it in a tub of water, but it died before morning.

*19th.*—We had a great run, 227 miles on the board, and had it not been late in the year and the night cloudy, which made me shorten sail in the evening, there would have been 245 miles on the board.

*22nd.*—Very bad-looking weather a little before day, the wind at South and blowing strong, very black in the NW and N, with a great deal of lightning. Soon after daybreak the wind came to the westward, with heavy squalls of wind and rain. This day we found ourselves considerably to the north-west, which makes me believe that we were in the Gulf Stream; saw some small white birds, which made me believe that we were not far from soundings; in the evening sounded with 140 fathom of line; no ground. Latitude at noon observed,

38° 45', and at the time of sounding we had gone about thirty miles to the northward ; longitude in by computation, 67° 13' west.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—Saw a small sail to windward ; tacked, but as the day was far spent and no probability of coming up with her, in half an hour tacked again, as we could lie nearer our course on this tack. Saw some small straws and bits of broken bulrushes amongst the gulf-weed, which the master (an American) said was an indication of our being near soundings ; but by my reckoning we are still 111 leagues from Sandy Hook. Little or no variation on the coast of America from New York so far to the southward as the Capes of Virginia. Sounded several times, but no ground.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Tried the current and found it set to the NE, one knot and three fathoms ; nevertheless it required double the distance on the log-board to give us the difference of latitude we had made to the southward these last twenty-four hours.

25<sup>th</sup>.—Wind at SSW, blowing hard ; the ship going eight or nine knots under the courses and close-reefed main and fore topsails. At 1 p.m. a new and large-sized tiller-rope broke. Let fly the main sheet ; the ship came up to the wind and shook the sails, but fell off again without doing any harm ; hooked the tiller tackles and reeved a new rope.

26<sup>th</sup>.—This day saw a gannet ; they are said not to go far from soundings.

27<sup>th</sup>.—This morning at daybreak saw a sail about a point on the weather bow ; made sail towards her ; at 1 p.m. spoke her ; she was a vessel in ballast from Halifax bound to New York ; she had sailed under convoy of the Charles-town frigate and a sloop, but had parted with them some time since in a gale of wind. At 1 p.m.

sounded, and had forty fathoms, yellow sand and black specks, in latitude  $39^{\circ} 58' N$ .

*30th.*—At 7 a.m. saw the land to the southward of Sandy Hook. We were then close in shore, and heard the surf before we saw the land about a mile off, in nine, ten, eleven fathoms water. At 2 p.m. saw Sandy Hook, with thick foggy weather and little wind. This afternoon got a pilot on board ; run in within the Hook ; it being little wind, the ship not under quick steerage way, she touched upon the east bank ; run out the small anchor and hauled her off ; I do not suppose that the copper is injured. The next day it being calm (1st December) I proceeded to New York in my boat with the despatches. Received in a very flattering manner by Admiral Arbuthnot.

*2nd December.*—The ship arrived and anchored in the North River. The admiral at my request commissioned Mr. Smith second lieutenant of the *Medea*. The public business at New York in very bad train. Received orders to put myself under the command of Captain Symonds of the *Charon*, and to proceed to the Capes of the Chesapeake with him and the expedition ; then to part, and proceed to Cape Fear ; from thence to Charlestown, &c.

*14th.*—Dropped down to Staten Island and joined the *Charon*.

*21st.*—Dropped down to the Hook.

*22nd.*—At 10 a.m. weighed and stood out to sea. When we got over the bar our signal was made by the *Charon* to chase a brig to the SE. At 2 p.m. spoke the chase ; she was from Cork bound to New York with provisions, eleven weeks from Cork ; no news ; she had sailed before we did. In the evening the whole fleet together, consisting of the *Charon*, *Thames*, *Medea*, *Amphitrite*, *Charles-*

town, Fowey, and Hope, Bonetta and Swift sloops with transports, horse vessels, and four armed vessels in the quartermaster-general's department; in all, forty-one sail.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—The Charon made our signal to chase, and hoisted his ensign; a preconcerted signal for us to leave company and proceed according to the tenor of my orders from Admiral Arbuthnot.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Saw the fleet to the northward; gave chase to a schooner to the SE. It fell little wind, so that we could not come up with her. Saw several vessels in different directions.

25<sup>th</sup>.—The wind came to the NW. Shaped a course for Cape Hatteras and passed it just far enough to the eastward to give the shoals a berth of six or seven leagues. The Gulf Stream runs close to the Cape. Steered SSW to run us to the eastward of it; and after getting well to the southward you stand through it again for the port you want to make. The wind continuing to the NW and blowing fresh, drove us to the southward of Cape Fear, our intended port. Stood in upon a wind and fetched Cape Roman; and, as I conceived it of no great consequence which of the ports I went to first, steered for Charlestown.

30<sup>th</sup>.—At noon saw the land about Cape Roman, and in the evening anchored about eight leagues eastward of the bar of Charlestown.

31<sup>st</sup>.—Wind to the westward. Weighed at daylight and worked to windward, and at sunset anchored in half six, about two or three miles from the bar.

1781.

1<sup>st</sup> *January*.—In the morning weighed and worked toward the bar. As it was little wind, anchored again. Went up to town. Found here



the Romulus, Blonde, and some sloops. In going up to the town met a pilot and directed him to go on board the ship.

2<sup>nd</sup>.—The ship got up and anchored off the town. She touched upon the bar, although she came over at the top of high water; it was neap tides. The ship touched so lightly that I suppose she received no damage. Completed our water and took in some provisions, rice, &c., and were ready to sail the Sunday after our arrival; but the wind and weather prevented us from moving until Thursday, the

11<sup>th</sup>.—We then got down to Rebellion Road, and the next morning,

12<sup>th</sup>.—Got under way by daylight and over the bar about eight o'clock; it is a very difficult bar, not more than three fathoms, though we came over at high water spring tides; the rising of the water is greatly guided by the winds.

13<sup>th</sup>.—At half after 8 a.m. saw a sail about two points upon the larboard bow, the wind then at NNE, our larboard tacks on board. Made all the sail we could and gave chase. She bore down upon us, and soon hauled upon a wind with the starboard tacks; when she got upon our beam she again bore right down upon us to make us plain; half after 10 a.m. she hauled her wind and loosed her main topgallant sail, but did not set it; some time afterwards she furled it. When we could lay within two or three points of her, tacked and stood after her; she appeared to forereach upon us, but we rather gained to windward; from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. she seemed to have gained upon us, as we could not see her so plain; it was clear but hazy weather, with a false horizon. As the sun grew low we could distinguish her plainer and see her hull; she then set topgallant-sails and crowded from us. The

wind veering to the southward, set studding-sails, and by half-past 6 p.m. we appeared to have come up with her ; at this time night came on, and we lost sight of her ahead. Continued the course ; half after nine, the moon having got up, discovered her with my glass from the quarter-gallery far aft upon the starboard quarter ; crowded after her again.

14th January, Sunday.—At half-past 2 a.m. we appeared to be pretty well up with her, then upon a wind, and she a little upon the weather bow ; at this time she bore away about three points and set her studding-sails ; for some time after this she seemed to draw from us. Having set our studding-sails and the wind freshening, with now and then a jerk of a sea so as to endanger our topmasts, but carrying all, we got within gunshot of her at half-past five ; fired one gun and she struck. She proved to be the Morning Star, American privateer ship, of eighteen 4-pounders, ten ports of a side, 190 tons, and ninety odd men, belonging to Philadelphia. She had now only seventy-nine, having sent some away in a prize, and a vessel they had retaken, a prize to the Hyæna ; found two midshipmen and eight men belonging to that ship on board the privateer. Shifted the prisoners, and put Mr. Stevenson on board to take charge of the prize, with Mr. Arno and about twenty-five or thirty men. This ship was just off the stocks, and had been but three weeks at sea ; she sailed fast ; the prize she had taken was a small sloop from Charlestown bound to Providence. The Morning Star cost the amazing sum of 400,000,<sup>1</sup> paper currency.

16th.—At 9 a.m. saw a sail upon the lee bow bearing SW by S ; made sail and kept away a little ; as she kept her wind coming towards us, we

<sup>1</sup> The paper dollar was at this time worth two cents cash (Jose, *The Growth of the Empire*, p. 113).

only edged away so as to draw imperceptibly towards her. At eleven saw another sail right ahead ; made more sail and stood after her, as the other seemed inclined to come to us ; we drew fast up with this last one, and at 4 p.m. fired several shot at her. She showed her American colours and struck ; she was a schooner named the Blossom, from Cape Fear, North Carolina, loaded with forty hhds. tobacco, six bbls. tallow, and two of rice, bound to St. Eustatius ; she was about forty tons, and the master supposed that no vessel could possibly sail faster than his. Put Mr. Goff, the pilot, on board with four men to take charge of her. At half after six the other strange sail came up with us ; she was the Torbay, belonging to Bristol, last from Cork the 15th November. She sailed a single ship. The master requested that I would take him under my protection ; directed him to follow us, and we would carry an easy sail.

19th.—Early in the morning saw the land ; stood along shore taking a cast of the lead every now and then in eight and nine fathoms of water. Half after eight had only five fathoms ; and the next cast, mark above water three ; put the helm hard a-starboard and kept her right off from the land. At this time we supposed ourselves many miles to the southward of the Roman shoals and likewise to the westward of them ; but by the distance we afterwards ran before we made Charlestown, the ship must have been on the Cape Roman shoals and at least six or seven miles from the shore. At 1 p.m. saw several sail ahead ; made the private signal, but it was not answered. At this time saw Charlestown ; two of these ships were outside the bar ; the one went into the five-fathom hole, the other anchored outside. At four came to an anchor off the bar. The ship outside proved to be the

Roebuck; the one that went in, the Raleigh; our two prizes and the Bristol ship anchored here.

20<sup>th</sup>.—Pressed five men from the Bristol ship. Got over the bar and up to Charlestown, with the two prizes.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Dropped down to Rebellion Road.

2<sup>nd</sup> February.—The Chatham, Carysfort, and a convoy arrived off the bar, in nine weeks from England; thick foggy weather.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Nine sail of the convoy got up to town.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Dropped down to the five-fathom hole. A black man that we got out of one of the prizes died. At 10 p.m. the Roebuck anchored off the bar.

6<sup>th</sup>.—At 4 p.m. got under way with the Raleigh; went over the bar and anchored near the Roebuck; the schooner with the provisions went alongside the Roebuck; we touched once upon the bar, but received no hurt.

7<sup>th</sup>.—At half-past 9 a.m. got under way with the Raleigh and Roebuck; passed near the Chatham, Captain Orde,<sup>1</sup> who was at anchor without us; she cheered us; returned with three cheers. Chased to the eastward; made the Raleigh's signal to get to windward of the chase; half-past 9 p.m. made the signal to leave off chase; could then see the Raleigh with the glass—she did not join us.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Sent the Roebuck in chase to the SE, and at 9 a.m. chased ourselves to the NE. Half-past 10 a.m. recalled the Roebuck; half-past 2 p.m. spoke the chase—a brig from Newfoundland, bound to Charlestown, nine weeks out and short of water; sent her a supply and made sail towards the Roebuck; joined her at six.

9<sup>th</sup>.—The Raleigh joined us.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 142. His commission as captain was dated May 19, 1778.

11th.—Blowing strong from the NW.

12th and 13th.—Blowing fresh from the northward, with squalls and some hail, but not very cold. Latitude in this day,  $36^{\circ} 30'$ .

14th to the 18th.—For the greatest part blowing hard, with uncomfortable weather; the ship rolling and tumbling about. At daylight this morning saw three sail; two of them were a little on the lee bow, and the other more to leeward. Made the signal to chase; the Raleigh and us went after the two weathermost, and the Roebuck after that to leeward. At 9 or 10 a.m. lost sight of the Roebuck; between twelve and one fired several shot at the chase, a brig; she brought to for us; ordered her to bear down to the Raleigh, and made the signal to take care of her; we stood after the schooner, and at 3 p.m., after firing some shot at her, she brought to. The brig was named the Fanny; the schooner, Centurion; both from Philadelphia, and had only left the Capes last night; they were both loaded with flour and bound to the Havana.

21st.—At 8 p.m. made the signal (one gun and two false fires) for the prizes to part company and make the best of their way to New York, the wind then blowing strong from the southward; all night the wind continued, so that I have great reason to hope that the prizes got in early on Thursday morning [22nd].

24th.—Saw a sail to windward, wind at WNW; gave chase with the Raleigh; at 4 p.m. brought the chase to; she was a letter of marque brig, from New York to Madeira; she informed us of the safe arrival of our two prizes, that the Culloden was totally lost, and the Bedford dismasted in Gardiner's Bay; that the Bedford was refitted.

1st March.—At 8 a.m. saw a sail to windward, the wind at East; gave chase; at 2 p.m. fired several

shot at the chase; she was a sloop from Philadelphia bound to St. Croix with lumber, named the Ark, Nilms master, a Bermudas-built sloop, about fifty tons. Sent three men on board of her, and desired Captain Gambier of the Raleigh to send three more and a petty officer. The prize informed us of the arrival of P[aul] Jones in the Ariel a day or two before we got on the coast.

*2nd and 3rd March.*—Thick foggy weather; fired a gun every now and then as a signal to the Raleigh, which she answered; the last gun we heard from her was at 1 a.m. on the 3rd.

*4th.*—Clear weather, but saw nothing of the Raleigh; at daybreak saw three sail to leeward, wind at North; gave chase; at 8 a.m. spoke the chase—a ship and two brigs from Charlestown under convoy of the Chatham; they had parted two days before in the fog. These vessels gave us a very indistinct account of Lord Cornwallis having gained a victory over the southern rebel army. Saw nothing of our prize sloop this morning; she has orders in case of separation to make the best of her way to New York.

*5th.*—A fresh breeze of wind to the southward; hoisted the colours as a signal for the ship and two brigs to make the best of their way to New York. Calm weather for two or three days, with thick fog; I have remarked that with a fog on this coast the sea never falls.

*8th.*—At 8 a.m. saw a sail to windward; gave chase; she bore down to us, and at 11 a.m. [we] boarded her; she was an American schooner from Baltimore, with 550 barrels of flour for the Havana, under jury-masts, named the Unity, Elliot master, 8 guns (which went overboard), fifteen men. The master tells a remarkable circumstance—that he was under a treble-reefed foresail in the time of

thunder and lightning ; a squall, or, as he says, rather a waterspout, took his vessel and upset her ; she lay with her masts in the water for about an hour and a half, when the foremast worked out of the step (the people at this time were on her weather side). They cut the fore shrouds ; the mast went overboard and tore up part of the deck. This happened at midnight on Monday, the 19th February. When the foremast went, the vessel righted, so that the people got upon deck, and hung by the main boom ; but it blowing fresh, and the sea beating over her, it was with the utmost difficulty they prevented themselves from being washed overboard. The vessel had two ton of iron and some stones in the run, which sunk her abaft, and brought her bow out of the water ; therefore, the people got forward and kept themselves by the heel of the bowsprit. At ten, Tuesday morning, the mate accidentally got hold of an old drawing-knife with his foot, which was in the cabin ; with this they cut away the mainmast, of sixteen or seventeen inches,<sup>1</sup> and the vessel came upon her legs. On Wednesday it was moderate, the sea then only coming all over her deck with the roll ; the master ordered a sail which they had saved to be put over the hatches, and stopped the defective parts of the deck as well as they could, and then they went to work to endeavour to pump and bale her out, but with little or no hopes of succeeding. In two or three hours they got her deck dry, and by night had freed her a streak ; in twenty-five or twenty-six hours' constant work and favourable weather they got her quite clear of the water. When we took her she was the greatest wreck that I believe was ever seen at sea ; they had water,

<sup>1</sup> A 'drawing-knife' seems an unlikely kind of tool for such a piece of work. It cannot mean that they cut the shrouds, for they already had a knife with which they had cut the fore shrouds.

beef, and flour which they could get at after she was cleared of the water ; a piece of their gaff or boom with which they steered (having lost her rudder), three very small spars by way of masts, and the same number of sails, and this was literally all that was on board of her ; the people had not a second shirt or coat, all having floated out of the cabin when she was full of water. While she lay on her broadside the step of the mainmast gave way, and the stump was standing at an elevation of about  $45^{\circ}$  sideways. Never was there a more miraculous escape ; had the deck given way, which in part it did, the cargo of flour would all have floated out and the vessel gone to the bottom. To add to their misfortunes, one of the pumps worked up and was lost when she lay on her side. The master says that the wind did not blow with great violence upon deck, but that there was a great noise of wind or rain aloft.

10<sup>th</sup>.—At daylight made the signal for the prize to make the best of her way into port ; a fine breeze of wind at SE. At eight saw a sail to the eastward ; gave chase ; at ten spoke the chase, a ship named the Roebuck, with sugar and rum, nineteen days from Jamaica, bound to New York. The lieutenant that boarded this ship saw in the ' Jamaica Gazette ' a copy of the King's declaration of war against the Dutch, dated the [20<sup>th</sup>] December, 1780, which is the first account of it we have had.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Stood back and joined the schooner this morning. Half-past 5 a.m. sounded in fifteen fathoms of water. At this time, by the master's reckoning, we were a great distance from soundings ; when we got ground, I supposed it to be the east side of Chincoteague, but I soon found by the irregularity of the soundings—from fifteen fathoms, in a few casts we were in eight, and were obliged to keep her right off SE—that we were to the south-



ward of the shoal. A ship should not approach nearer than twelve fathoms to the southward of this shoal; to the eastward and northward, the sounding is more gradual. A person on this coast should never fail to take a cast of the lead every now and then; I mean on the whole coast of America. Took the schooner in tow; calm in the evening; cast her off. It blew strong in the night; saw nothing of the schooner in the morning.

13<sup>th</sup>.—At half-past noon, saw ten or eleven sail to windward, the wind then at NW by N. We were standing to the northward and they to the southward. Half-past two, tacked; at sunset we were a great distance from them, and at this time it fell calm; at seven, a light air of wind from the southward; tacked and stood to the westward; the breeze freshened, and at half-past twelve found ourselves very near the ships we were chasing of, they standing towards us. Tacked and kept a little way ahead of them.

14<sup>th</sup>.—At daylight saw the fleet. They appeared to be one three-decked ship, seven two-deckers, and two frigates. One of the ships hoisted a white flag at the fore-topmast head and fired a gun—the old signal to call in all cruisers; and one of them had got the private signal hoisted; made all the sail we could to join them, but they were a considerable way to windward and were carrying a stiff sail, therefore could not get up with them. At nine a schooner stood across us; kept away to speak her; she hauled her wind and afterwards kept large; we chased and were coming up fast with her, but about 11 a.m. saw the land, and as I found that we could not get alongside of her before we should be too close in with the shore, after firing a shot or two hauled our wind on the other tack. Half after 3 p.m. saw a schooner coming down upon us before

the wind ; when she discovered us she hauled her wind. Set the fore topsail and chased her, she standing in for the land ; and as this vessel would have run us too near the land before we could bring her to, we tacked and stood off.

*16th March.*—Thick, hazy, and rainy weather ; the wind at NE ;<sup>1</sup> steering SW. At 11 a.m. saw several strange sail in the SW, seemingly in a line on the larboard tack, and some ships to leeward of them on the starboard tack ; run down to them and made the private signal, which they did not answer, but sent a very large ship to chase us ; we kept our wind under an easy sail. Half after twelve, or one o'clock, the ship in chase bore up for her own fleet.

About 2 p.m. heard a very heavy cannonade ; bore up and made sail. About three-quarters past two the firing ceased ; we then discovered the two fleets to leeward, the French consisting of eight sail of the line and two frigates, or nine and one frigate, and a small brig ; these were to windward ;<sup>1</sup> and our fleet under the Admirals Arbuthnot and Graves to leeward,<sup>1</sup> consisting of eleven sail. The French were making off under an easy sail, and our ships not following them. The London, Admiral Graves' ship, had lost her main-topsail yard ; the Prudent, much shattered in her rigging. Bore down under the admiral's stern ; he ordered us to keep between him and the French fleet, but not to lose sight of him. At dark the French fleet bore SE, and some of them lying-to. Lost sight of both fleets.

*17th.*—At 1 a.m. wore ship to the westward ; at two saw our fleet ; then wore and stood after the French under an easy sail. At daybreak saw our fleet astern, about five leagues distant, but saw nothing of the enemy. Out reefs ; set top-gallant

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. very plainly written ; but cf. Beatson, v. 219, whose account is taken very closely from Arbuthnot's despatch.

sails and made all sail to the SE, where we last saw the French; they could not have got out of sight of us to windward, as it was a fine and clear morning, fresh breeze of wind and smooth water; the ship 9 K. 6 F.<sup>1</sup> About a quarter before 8 a.m. lost sight of our fleet; about nine discovered the French fleet in the SE quarter; tacked and stood towards our own fleet; half after nine, out of sight of both fleets; and soon after (owing, I suppose, to some change of weather or situation of the sun, for it appeared the same clear weather), we again saw the French fleet and one of their ships in chase of us, though we had been going between nine and ten knots from them ever since we discovered them. Quarter after ten lost sight of all the French fleet. About noon saw some of our fleet; made the signal for a strange fleet in the SE, which we repeated frequently until 6 p.m.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Joined the admiral. The Robust and Prudent seemed to be much crippled from the last action and were repairing. A little before noon gave chase with the Royal Oak, Bedford, and Iris, to a ship in the SW quarter. The other ships in chase made a tack or two, but we continued on the same until 3 p.m., then tacked. In passing the chase on opposite tacks, we were within two or three miles of her and had gained upon her very considerably; at four the admiral made the signal to call in all cruisers; but as we now plainly discovered the chase to be a frigate of fourteen ports of a side

<sup>1</sup> Knots and Fathoms. According to Hamilton Moore, the eighteenth century authority on navigation, the knot, for the half minute glass, of 50 feet, was properly divided into *ten* fathoms of *five* feet; though some navigators preferred taking the knot as *seven* or *seven and a half* fathoms of *six* feet. He gives a decided opinion in favour of the division into *ten*; that is, *fathoms* was here merely a conventional term for *tenths*.

(apparently French), and we could soon bring her to action, we tacked and could now lay very near for her ; continued the chase ; but the admiral repeated the signal for recall ; bore up to him and steered for the fleet with a crowd of sail ; they steered for Cape Henry. At 7 p.m. anchored in Lynn Haven Road, where all the fleet were at anchor, consisting of Royal Oak, Admiral Arbuthnot ; London, Admiral Graves ; Bedford, Robust, America, Europe, Prudent, Adamant, and the frigates Pearl, Iris, Guadeloupe, and Medea.

19<sup>th</sup>.—Got under way to proceed up James River and to our post at Portsmouth ; saw a schooner standing toward the fleet with rebel colours ; hoisted French until she got within musket shot ; fired several at her and took her ; she was a remarkable fast sailing pilot-boat, with a French officer on board, and several people going from York to the French fleet, mistaking ours for them ; sent the boat to the admiral and proceeded on for Portsmouth. Arrived there the 20<sup>th</sup> ; General Arnold went by land to wait on the admiral.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Got under way to proceed down to the admiral. The master of the Thames, Parker, who had [been] lying long at this place, had often sounded it, and supposed to be the best acquainted with the navigation of the place ; this man run us on shore in the dusk of the evening, on the shoal that runs out from Sowell's Point. It was near high water and impossible to get her off ; we had no stream anchor or cable on board, having sent that to the assistance of the Guadeloupe, who had got on shore in the morning tide, about four miles below us. Got a sailing cutter alongside and put the small bower anchor in her, and carried it out in the direction the ship went on.

22<sup>nd</sup>.—At 7 a.m., before high water, got a pur

chase on the cable, and hove a great strain, but could not move the ship; she hung forward, most water abaft; but I do not think that this morning tide was so high as last night's, though it is a growing moon; the tides here are governed more by the winds than the moon. Hauled the cutter alongside, and put out nine of the guns, and got a small sloop in which we put some casks of water; at 5 p.m., two hours and a half before high water, with the wind at NE and blowing fresh, we got the ship off; took in our water again. The ship did not strike at going on the ground, neither did she move after she was on, nor did she heel much; I am therefore hopeful that she has received no injury.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—Took in the guns, &c. Half after 10 a.m. got under way to join the admiral; put the ship to rights again, and joined him at 2 p.m.; he appointed the *Medea* to repeat his signals.

24<sup>th</sup>.—At 6 a.m. the fleet got under way, consisting of *Royal Oak*, *London*, *Bedford*, *Robust*, *Prudent*, *America*, *Europe*, *Adamant*; *Charon*, and *Medea*, and *Amphitrite*, frigates. At 5 p.m. returned to the same anchorage we left in the morning. That night it blew very strong from the NW.

25<sup>th</sup>.—A convoy came in sight this night, and the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup> they got in here, viz., *Richmond*, *Orpheus*, *Pearl*, *Chatham*, *Raleigh*, and *Roebuck*, three sloops, one fireship, and a number of transports with troops.

27<sup>th</sup>.—At noon got under way, and worked out of the bay; left the fleet, and proceeded for New York. Soon after we sailed it came on to blow fresh from the northward.

28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>.—A gale of wind from the northward; lay to under a main and mizen staysail both these days; the gale lasted with unabated violence for fifty-four hours.

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30th.—Very unsettled weather ; sometimes almost calm, and at others a gale of wind, with a great sea from the northward.

1st April.—The wind went from the northward round to the westward, from that to south, round to the eastward and back to the southward ; and on all these different directions it blew exceedingly hard ; the sea came from all quarters, which made the ship roll and tumble so as to greatly endanger the masts ; she shipped a good deal of water upon deck. Upon the whole she made good weather of it, considering the sea there was from all quarters. Towards 6 p.m. it became moderate, the wind to the westward. In the morning of the 2nd the wind at NNW, hazy weather, cold, and began again to blow.

5th, Thursday.—Fine weather. At 3 p.m. saw a brig and gave chase to her ; towards dark got pretty close up to her, but she was by this time so near the shore, near Egg Harbour, and night coming on, that we stood off to sea and left her.

6th.—At 7 a.m. saw the lighthouse at Sandy Hook ; at eight got a pilot on board, who informed us that he believed the schooner ahead of us was an American privateer ; gave chase to her ; observed that she had taken one of the pilot-boats ; chased the privateer and pilot-boat along the shore of Long Island, and drove them both ashore, after firing a great number of shot at them ; sent all the boats armed and took them off. Arrived at Sandy Hook in the afternoon. The schooner was a continental vessel, commanded by a Lieutenant House, named the *Eagle*, of six 3-pounders and two 2-pounders, and twenty-two men. Had been out three days from New London, and had not taken anything.

7th.—In the evening, arrived at New York ;

anchored in the East River. A great number of the ship's company ill of the scurvy. Erected tents upon Governor's Island, and sent them on shore there.

*12th April.*—The fleet arrived here. Royal Oak, Robust, Prudent, and Europe came into the East River; the Royal Oak ran on a knowel or sunken vessel, and lay from 4 to 10 p.m. She hung forward about the fore chains, and when got off made some water; it is therefore feared that she received damage. Admiral Graves, with the other part of the fleet, remained at Staten Island. As the ships were repaired they proceeded out to the North River.

*19th.*—Arrived here the Roebuck with the Confederacy, a very large American frigate of 36 guns, laid down for a 64, very narrow for her length, and tumbles in much upon deck; she is prize to the Roebuck and Orpheus.

*2nd May.*—Took on board all the people that were fit to be taken from the island, leaving twelve or fourteen, and went out to the North River.

*3rd.*—Sailed from New York, and went straight out to sea; joined the Roebuck off the Hook, took her under my command, and we proceeded together to Block Island.

*4th.*—At noon, arrived at Block Island; in the afternoon saw the French fleet in Rhode Island, eight or nine sail of them; the people of Block Island informed us that a fleet of transports, consisting of twenty-three sail, of which ten were ships, the rest brigs and schooners, had sailed about fourteen days before, under the convoy of two frigates. In the evening left Block Island to return to New York; stood off to the S by E; wind SW by W.

*5th.*—At 7 a.m., saw a ship, a brig, and schooner,

right to windward ; gave chase ; made several tacks ; in the course of the chase the brig and schooner stood on different tacks from the ship. At 5 p.m. the chase hoisted American colours, and fired a gun ; we hoisted French. At sunset showed our proper colours ; she still kept crowding from us. At 10 p.m., having got very near her, she bore down to us ; we fired a couple of muskets, and the Roebuck a great gun at her ; she hoisted her colours and hauled them down. She was what they call a States' ship of Massachusetts, named the Protector, John Foster Williams commander, of 26 guns—ten 12-pounders, ten 9-pounders, and six 6-pounders ; 198 [men] when taken, and had put about twenty on board prizes. She sailed last from Martinique about the latter end of February, and had taken four prizes—one from Barbados to St. Lucia, one Charlestown to Jamaica, a brig with Teneriffe wines, and a small schooner with rum and molasses. Took out between forty and fifty of the prisoners ; sent on board a lieutenant and twenty men ; the Roebuck sent forty or fifty more ; left the Roebuck in charge of the prize, and we made the best of our way to the admiral.

*6th, Sunday.*—At 6 p.m., anchored at Staten Island, where the admiral and the fleet then were. At 7 we weighed, and run up to the town ; the prize, Protector, anchored by us at half after 8. That night and all next day it blew a very heavy gale of wind.

*7th.*—Got the prize into the East River.

*11th.*—At 5 a.m. got under way ; joined the admiral in Gravesend Bay ; the fleet, except the London, anchored at Sandy Hook. The London got aground above the Upper Middle on the edge of the West Bank ; we were ordered to her assistance ; got up to her at 2 p.m. A vessel was carry-



ing out one of her bower anchors, but could not effect it ; let go our anchor in the direction, and run the end of our stream cable on board of the vessel with the anchor in it, and at low water slack hove her to us, where she let go the London's anchor. About half after 9 she got off.

12th.—At 10 a.m. we both weighed, ran down, and anchored at the Hook.

13th, *Sunday*.—At 10 a.m. weighed with the fleet. They all got out except the Robust and Adamant ; the Charon sailed with us ; she had the Roebuck and Assurance with her, and a convoy of transports with troops for the Chesapeake.

14th.—Afternoon, the Charon and her convoy parted company ; they stood to the southward, and we to the northward. At 4 p.m., four or five leagues from the Neversink ; stood all night to the southward.

15th.—At 7 a.m. saw the Charon and her fleet ; made the private signal to them, and stood to the northward. At 4 p.m. the Robust and Adamant joined us.

16th.—At 5 p.m. we chased to the north-east per signal. The chase was a sloop in shore ; she lay becalmed ; we carried the breeze to within about two miles of her ; it then fell calm with light airs of wind, sometimes from one quarter, sometimes another. The chase appeared to be a privateer ; she got her oars out and rowed in shore. In the night we were taken all aback with a very sudden and heavy squall, with thunder and lightning and heavy rain ; this squall gave no other warning than that of falling calm for about two minutes.

17th.—At 6 a.m. saw two sloops ahead ; gave chase. It fell calm ; out boats and endeavoured to tow and warp after the chase ; found that they went

from us by rowing; sent the boats in chase, but before they could get up, there came a light air of wind which run us up with all the boats except the pinnace; she continued the chase, got within musket shot, and fired a few at one of the sloops; but the breeze of wind prevented the boat from getting alongside of her. In the afternoon four or five more sloops came in sight, and were steering for Montauk Point; at dark we got within gunshot of some of them, but it came on a very dark night, with squalls, thunder and lightning, and rain. Bore up under a very easy sail for the east end of Long Island.

18<sup>th</sup>.—Saw nothing of the sloops; anchored that evening between Block Island and Montauk Point in seventeen fathoms.

19<sup>th</sup>.—In the morning joined the fleet at anchor to the NW of Block Island, about a mile from the shore, in seventeen fathoms water, right off a small gully of very narrow entrance, but inside it becomes a considerable lake, and very near if not altogether divides the island. This island is not round, as laid down in the drafts, but long; it cannot be above three miles across from the entrance of the lake to the opposite side, and it is said to be nine miles long; I think it is scarce so much. In the afternoon I was ordered to take the Chatham with me and endeavour to intercept the sloop supposed to be coming into the Sound; the wind was in the SW quarter. Our first tack carried us near Stonnington, where we saw a brig and sloop at anchor, which looked like privateers; tacked and stood back towards Block Island; the wind headed us so that we could not weather it; it came on a thick fog. We made several tacks, but as the wind always headed us, we supposed we had got no ground, stood backwards and forwards from fifteen to twenty

fathoms ; after standing in for Block Island until we got into fifteen fathoms, tacked and stood WNW, and NW by W, one hour and a half, until we got into fifteen fathoms ; then tacked to the SSE, and after standing about a quarter of an hour, got into ten fathoms ; and not knowing where the tide might have set, we came to an anchor at midnight. In the morning we saw Montauk bearing W by S, and Block Island E by S ; saw the Chatham to the southward ; sent her in chase to the SE.

20th, 21st, and 22nd.—Foggy weather and sometimes blowing fresh.

24th.—At half-past 3 a.m. gave chase to a brig near Montauk Point ; it fell little wind ; sent our boats and the Chatham's after her ; we went round Montauk Point at the distance of five miles ; saw a great rippling, and, being unacquainted with the soundings, tacked to stand from it, but the tide set us right into it ; we got into less than five fathoms ; let go the anchor, and sounded all round the ship, but found no such shoal water anywhere else. The boats got up with the chase ; she was a privateer of 18 guns ; she fired a broadside at our cutter while they were hailing her, but did no hurt to any one ; the boats retired. Joined the fleet then under way standing from Block Island.

26th.—The fleet anchored off Sandy Hook.

27th.—I was sent along the Jersey shore to endeavour to pick up two privateers said to be on that coast.

28th.—In the morning saw a sloop and schooner in shore ; gave chase ; drove them both close to the beach ; they then separated ; the sloop, which was by much the largest, went before the wind to the northward ; chased her, but she kept close to the shore. When I found that she would not quit it, we drove her on shore ; the people dropped

from the bowsprit in the water, and got on shore ; the sea broke all over her, therefore I suppose that she will not get off again. One of our boats stood close in to her ; she was fired at by the people on the shore ; called her off. The sloop was about 12 or 14 guns. Anchored in the afternoon outside the Hook, where the fleet were lying.

*31st May.*—The admiral ordered me to proceed and look into Rhode Island or procure him information about the French fleet.

*1st June.*—When about six or seven leagues to the southward of the middle of Long Island, at noon, saw four sail to windward coming down towards us ; I soon discovered that it was some of our frigates in chase of a sloop. We kept right to leeward of the sloop ; as we tacked, she always steered astern of us, which obliged us to make several tacks. About 2 p.m. fired several shot at her. One of the guns, after being loaded some little time, and the people going to run it out, went off and killed a man that was passing the muzzle of it at the time. It blew him through the weather clew of the foresail ; there was scarce a bit of him to be seen ; the foresail much damaged. A little after three the sloop struck ; she was a privateer of fourteen 4-pounders, named the *Phoenix* ; she sailed remarkable well, and had gone from the ships *Amphitrite*, *Charlestown*, and *Assurance*, that were in chase of her ; she had 76 or 77 men, was a new vessel, and had only taken a brig in ballast from New York for Hull ; put Mr. Arno and eight men on board, and sent her for New York ; divided the prisoners with the other ships.

*4th June.*—Had information by a Block Island boat that the French fleet were in Rhode Island ; that two ships had gone in and joined them a day or two before ; one of them appeared to be a small

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two-decker, the other a frigate. In the evening we saw the French in Rhode Island.

6*th*.—Saw our fleet in the morning; joined them at 3 p.m. The admiral ordered me to take the Royal Oak under my command and proceed part of the way with her to Halifax, or as circumstances might require. She was very leaky. In the evening made sail with the Royal Oak; she had a small brig in tow.

11*th*.—At 4 p.m. arrived at Halifax with the Royal Oak and the brig.

12*th*, 13*th*.—Completed our beer, water, and provisions, and sailed at noon [on 13*th*], with the wind blowing right into the harbour; worked out.

14*th*.—At 6 a.m. spoke with the Charlestown and Vulture with a French prize, and the Atalanta, which they had retaken. She and the Trepassey had been taken by the Alliance, rebel frigate, after an obstinate engagement, in which the Atalanta lost all her masts; the captain (Smith) of the Trepassey was killed. Chased a brig and schooner which we took to be privateers; when we got within three or four miles of the schooner, and coming up with her very fast, it came on a thick fog and continued so for two days.

18*th*.—Half after 5 p.m., standing in for Cape Sable, saw a vessel standing off towards us; gave chase; she wore, and stood in for the shore to the westward of the Cape; fired many shot at her and got within hail of her; but we all at once got into ten fathoms of water; the pilot rather a little frightened; we were obliged to down studding-sails and haul the wind; shoaled<sup>1</sup> the water upon both tacks, and were obliged to make several very short ones, night coming on, foul ground and a disagreeable-

<sup>1</sup> MS. has 'shoaldened.'

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looking night ; half after eight, the wind shifted from SW by S to SSE, which enabled us to lay out with the larboard tacks ; by midnight we were quite clear ; in the night it blew very hard, and bad weather.

*20th June.*—On St. George's Bank at noon saw a sail right to windward coming down with studding-sails. We made sail ; the vessel chased us, but as we were going fast ahead, the vessel not steering far enough ahead of us, we brought her so far aft as to tack upon her and look very near her. She hauled her wind and made all the sail she could from us ; at 7 p.m. fired two shot at, and brought her to ; she was the Rover, a privateer from Salem, of twenty 4-pounders and seventy-nine men, only two days out ; she is a remarkable pretty ship, and went eight and a half knots greatest part of the time we chased her, upon a wind and a good full ; captain's name, James Bar. The greatest part of this month it has been remarkable cold, but when I was here in the Eagle at same time of the year it was altogether as hot.

*22nd.*—Towards evening, lat.  $39^{\circ} 40' N$ , long.  $67^{\circ} W$ , the weather looked very disagreeable ; it turned out a very bad night, blowing, heavy rain, with thunder and lightning.

*23rd.*—Half-past 3 a.m. I saw a vessel close to us ; hailed and took her ; she was called the Good Intent, a brig from Boston with lumber for St. Croix. Afterwards spoke a schooner from Bermuda for Penobscot.

*27th.*—At 3 a.m. saw a sail to leeward ; gave chase ; at eight took her, a sloop named the Humbird, McGill master, two days from New London, bound to St. Croix, loaded with sixteen horses, 6,000 staves, and some other trifles.

*28th.*—A.M. Spoke two Cape Cod whaling schooners. They showed a certificate from Captain

Dalrymple of their loyalty [and] of their having been serviceable to his Majesty's ships and subjects ;<sup>1</sup> I therefore let them go. We likewise spoke a Nantucket whaling brig ; she had a pass from Admiral Arbuthnot.

*1st July, Sunday.*—Arrived at the Hook, where the fleet were at anchor outside. Admiral Arbuthnot was recalled and preparing to go home in the Roebuck. The same evening we sailed for New York ; worked all night to windward.

*2nd.*—Arrived at 6 a.m. off the Battery. We found that the Rover had arrived with the brig Good Intent, and had taken a sloop privateer of 10 guns, which he brought in with him ; she was called the Kingbird. The sloop with horses and lumber was retaken and carried into New London.

*8th, Sunday.*—Sailed from New York and joined Admiral Graves outside of Sandy Hook ; Admiral Arbuthnot was gone home in the Roebuck. In the night between the 12th and 13th received an express from Admiral Graves with information of a French and rebel force being in Long Island Sound, and orders to proceed to New York with some ships to be ready to act against them.

*13th.*—At daybreak got under way and arrived at New York at 2 p.m. Here I was informed that the enemy had been drove off by a few refugees, and that their ships were returned to Rhode Island.

*15th, Sunday.*—Returned and joined Admiral Graves outside Sandy Hook.

*18th, Wednesday.*—Received an order from Admiral Graves to proceed and cruise for three weeks off the Delaware. Sailed, and lost sight of the fleet in the evening.

<sup>1</sup> Nelson gave a similar certificate, also to a Cape Cod schooner, on August 17, 1782 (Nicolas, i. 65).

19<sup>th</sup>.—Spoke the *Triumph*, a privateer from New York.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Stood close in to Cape Henlopen ; discovered at anchor there a fleet of about fourteen or fifteen sail ; the outermost was a large ship, which we took to be a frigate. There was one ship more, and several others that looked like armed vessels ; we stood close in with the wind to the southward, but they made no attempt to move ; in the evening sent in the *Hibernia*, a privateer sloop, to watch their motions, and we lay to off the mouth of the bay.

30<sup>th</sup>.—At daylight saw a schooner in the offing and two ships outside the overfalls ; as the schooner was near us we chased her ; the other ships made the private signal. At 10 a.m. took the schooner ; she was under Dutch colours, the people all Americans ; she was from the island of St. Thomas, loaded with salt, rum, tea, bales of broadcloth, &c., an assorted cargo, for Philadelphia ; the schooner was named the *Neptune*, Thomas Seymour master, 4 or 6 guns and twenty people, including passengers. The *Amphitrite* and *General Monk* were in sight, and the *Triumph* and the *Hibernia*, privateers. On the night between the 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> the *Amphitrite* and us stood in for the Cape, with intention to get in amongst the rebel fleet at anchor in the road under the Cape ; it fell little wind in the middle watch, so that we were four or five miles from the lighthouse. At daybreak of the 31<sup>st</sup> the rebel fleet, under the protection of the *Trumbull* frigate, *King of France* privateer, of 20 guns, and many other armed vessels, in all mounting, as counted by the *Medea* and *Amphitrite*, 170 pieces of cannon, got under way and run up the Bay ; we could not get up with them before they reached the shoals. The *Amphitrite* had no pilot ; the *Monk*, unfortunately,



had not joined us from chasing the day before ; I therefore left off the chase, got out to sea to wait for this fleet, and detained the *Amphitrite* and *Monk*. Spoke several cartels from Charlestown and Philadelphia.

*4th August*.—At half-past 5 a.m. gave chase to a ship ahead ; little wind and sometimes calm ; sent the boats ahead to tow, and made the signal for the *Amphitrite's* ; when those came sent all the boats to tow the *Triumph* privateer to the chase, as she was a lighter ship. The *Triumph* and a small sloop got within shot of her, and the chase fired at them ; the sloop fired a few shot ; the *Virginia*, another privateer, got within shot of the chase and engaged, sheered off, and when we got within gunshot she renewed the engagement. The chase, observing that we had got very close to him, struck her colours ; she was the *Belisarius* privateer, from Boston, Monro commander, of twenty 9-pounders and 150 men ; had only taken three very inconsiderable prizes, and been out from the 14th May. Ships in company at the taking this prize were—the *Medea*, *Amphitrite*, *Savage*, and [the] privateers *Virginia*, *Triumph*, *Hibernia*, and *General Arnold*. Sent in the *Hibernia*, and afterwards the *Virginia*, to reconnoitre ; but they brought such imperfect information that on the evening of the 6th the *Amphitrite* went in. Returned on the 7th and reported that thirteen sail of the fleet, which was all the smaller ones, had got under Cape May, where, by his pilot's account, we could not possibly get at them.

*8th*.—Gave chase to a schooner. We passed the *Amphitrite* in the first of the chase, but she afterwards passed us. Our forehold was broke up at this time to get at a few days' water. At 9 p.m. the *Amphitrite* fired at the chase ; we had again come

up with her, and likewise fired at the chase. The *Amphitrite* got so close as to fire muskets<sup>1</sup> at her, but it came on so very thick with rain, thunder, and lightning, that the *Amphitrite* lost her. We saw her and chased her some time, then lost sight of her until daylight, when we again saw her and chased her until 8 a.m. We were coming up with her all the while, but so slowly that I did not like to continue the chase, as I had seen a fleet to leeward which the *Amphitrite* went to speak.

9<sup>th</sup>.—At noon the *Amphitrite* joined, and informed me that the fleet was a convoy with German troops; the number of vessels were twenty-five sail; the *Amphion* and two sloops were the convoy; but the frigate had parted two days before, in chase of a frigate. Last night we lost company with the *Savage* and *Belisarius*, the *Hibernia*, *Virginia*, *General Arnold*, and *Triumph*; the three last went off in chase to the southward. Half-past 12 p.m., the *Amphitrite* and us went in chase of a ship and two brigs; we were coming up with them, but night came on, and we lost them; I steered away SE until the moon got up, in hopes of falling in with them, but saw nothing more of them. We beat the *Amphitrite* considerably in this chase.

10<sup>th</sup>.—At noon saw a ship in the SW; gave chase with the *Amphitrite*; by night we had neared him considerably, so that we could see his hull; he did not seem to be in a hurry; he had no topgallant sails set; I therefore suppose that she was another of the Spanish flags of truce from New York for the Havana. At dark lost sight of her, and did not see her again.

11<sup>th</sup>.—At daylight saw a sloop to the westward; gave chase; spoke the chase; she was from New

<sup>1</sup> MS. has 'musqueteres.'

York, bound to New Providence ; had been a cartel, but taken by some whale-boats of New York, carried in there and cleared.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Stood in and made Cape Henlopen ; saw three sail there ; one of them appeared to be a frigate, very probably the Trumbull, but as she had it in her power to get off, we tacked, and stood to sea. In the night the Amphitrite made a signal ; wore, and went towards her ; found that she had carried away her main topsail yard ; shortened sail and lay by her.

13<sup>th</sup>.—At daybreak saw a brig ; gave chase ; at eight fired a couple of shot at, and brought her to. She was an American privateer named the Marianne, from Rhode Island, of 12 guns, forty-eight men, Whipple commander ; had been out four days and taken nothing.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Chased a ship and came up surprisingly fast with her ; found that she was one of the Spanish cartels from New York. Tacked, and stood to the northward.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Joined the admiral off the Hook, and was sent up to New York to water and to repair the copper upon the ship's bows.

24<sup>th</sup>.—Sailed from the East River and proceeded straight down ; anchored off Coney Island.

25<sup>th</sup>.—In the morning weighed, and joined the admiral at Sandy Hook ; got orders to proceed to sea at daylight.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Sailed ; saw a ship on shore to the southward of the Neversink ; worked up to her and sent our boat to her assistance ; she was the Rover, sloop of war, Captain James Duncan ; at noon he cut away his masts. Stopped a pilot-boat and sent [her] to his assistance, to take his men out if necessary ; in the evening Captain Duncan, finding it impossible to get his ship off, set her on fire and brought all his people to the Medea.

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27<sup>th</sup>.—Put Captain Duncan and all his people, and what was saved from the wreck, on board three pilot-boats, to proceed to the admiral. We had anchored overnight; weighed at eight this morning and stood to the southward.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Saw a brig at daylight to the eastward; gave chase; after firing several shot, came up with and took her; she was called the *Favourite*, of 14 guns, John Buddington commander, eighty-three men, belonging to New London; had been out about fourteen days and had taken a brig from Madeira loaded with wine for New York. The prize was afterwards retaken by the *Solebay*.

30<sup>th</sup>.—Chased a ship to the westward; she proved to be the *Iris*.

31<sup>st</sup>.—Sent her in to make Cape Henlopen, and to see if any ships were in the road. In the afternoon she made a signal at the mizen peak, which we took to be for seeing a sail in the NW; she chased, and we made sail after her.

1<sup>st</sup> September.—At daylight saw a brig to the NW; chased her. Half after 10 a.m., a few leagues to the northward of Cape May, we got in very broken ground, from ten to seven fathom, then quarter less five, from that to eight; we tacked in half five, and in standing out had irregular sounding to ten fathom, and from that to five, going out ESE.

2<sup>nd</sup>.—Saw a fleet, which proved to be Admiral Graves, joined by the West India fleet under Sir Samuel Hood and Admiral Drake. The fleet consisted of twenty-five sail; nineteen of the line, the *Adamant*, and four frigates.<sup>1</sup>

3<sup>rd</sup>.—Went on board the admiral. He directed me to follow my former orders.

<sup>1</sup> The *Salamander* fireship seems to be the one not specified.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Spoke the Orpheus; she informed us of her having been between the Capes of the Chesapeake last night, and that they discovered a fleet at anchor of thirty large ships; that one of them chased him, and by their management they appeared to be French. Sent the Favourite to New York with the above intelligence, and made all the sail we could to inform the admiral; the Orpheus did the same. In the evening chased a brig in shore; I was anxious to take this vessel in hopes of receiving some information from her respecting the enemy's fleet; I supposed that she might have sailed from the West Indies with the French fleet; the brig sailed very fast, but I believe we came up something with her, but as I found that she might detain me from more important service, crowded all the sail we could to find the admiral.

5<sup>th</sup> September.—At daylight saw the Iris; made the signal to call her in; in the forenoon she hauled her wind in shore; made the signal again, and fired several guns to call her in, supposing that the admiral would be glad to have everything with him that he could. She followed us; at twenty minutes after 4 p.m. heard an engagement begin, which lasted till twenty minutes past seven.<sup>1</sup>

6<sup>th</sup>.—At daylight saw the fleet and a ship to windward of us; she appeared to be a transport; sent the Iris after her, and we made the best of our way to join the fleet. Half after 9 a.m. joined them; observed that Admiral Drake's division, which led on the larboard tack, had suffered pretty much in their sails and rigging; the Bedford, the ship astern of the admiral, had likewise suffered much in her sails and masts. Our fleet was now upon a wind, with the larboard tacks, Admiral Drake's

<sup>1</sup> As to this battle, see *Letters of Sir Samuel Hood* (N. R. S., iii. 28 *et seq.*).

division leading, and Sir Samuel Hood's in the rear. The French fleet at this time were in a line about four miles to leeward, upon a wind, on the same tack and under the like proportion of sail. The admiral made my signal to come on board of him ; received orders to look into the Chesapeake for information whether the French had any transports there, &c. That evening, Thursday, the 6th September, got pretty close to Cape Henry, but it was too late in the evening to run up, as I did not know the situation of the enemy there, and there was a large ship outside of us standing in ; went and spoke her, the *Iris* ; I kept her with me. In the night we spoke with the *Pegasus*, who informed me that she sailed from the West Indies with Sir G. Rodney ; that he had carried him considerably out of his way, for which reason the *Pegasus* and her convoy of seven victuallers bound to New York had fallen in with the French fleet in lat.  $38^{\circ}$ , long.  $72^{\circ}$ . The *Pegasus* was chased four days, and he apprehends that all his convoy were taken.

7th.—Stood in for Cape Henry ; observed that the French had left their anchors behind them ; I directed Captain Dawson, of the *Iris*, to remain at the Cape, and cut away all the buoys, while I run up the bay. A line-of-battle ship and a frigate were working down ; they were both obliged to anchor above the Horse-Shoe ; five sail more were anchored higher up and towards the entrance of York River, one of which came soon and anchored with the line-of-battle ship and frigate, and by comparison she must be a 40-gun ship ; she was smaller than the larger ship, and considerably larger than the frigate ; she had no poop, probably the *Romulus*. The four that remained above were small ships ; one, I believe, a brig. When we had run pretty well up to view those vessels, two large

ships made their appearance coming out of Elizabeth River; they anchored in Hampton Road; Captain Dawson took them to be ships of the line; they did not appear so large to us; made sail and got out of the Chesapeake at dark; the Iris cut away all the buoys.

*8th September, Saturday.*—At 6 a.m. discovered our fleet; soon after that of the enemy; they were both upon a wind with the larboard tack; the French van abreast of our rear, and four or five miles to windward. Strength of the two fleets at this time:<sup>1</sup>

2	of the 2nd rate	(98 and 90 guns).
12	of the 3rd rate	(74 guns).
1	"	(70 guns).
4	"	(64 guns).

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19 ships of 2nd and 3rd rate; 1,328 guns; 10,695 men, and the frigates *Nymphé*, *Santa Monica*, *Fortune*, *Adamant*, *Sybille*.

Frigates with Admiral Graves, were those mentioned with the line-of-battle, and the *Orpheus*, *Richmond*, *Medea*, *Solebay*, *Iris*; *Adamant* of 50 guns, after the action taken into the line; *Pegasus*, a sloop, and fireship. These frigates did not always continue with the fleet, but were employed in going backwards and forwards to the Chesapeake. The French fleet consisted of twenty-four sail of the line and two frigates. Many of their ships looked very large. I think they had but one three-decked ship.<sup>2</sup> I compared the sails of one of the French ships as she was passing the London, and, although the former was six or seven miles further off than the

<sup>1</sup> The list as written in the MS. is of no official authority, and the numbers of men and guns are merely the establishment and certainly incorrect. It is therefore given here in abstract only.

<sup>2</sup> The *Ville de Paris*.

London, the French ship's topsails appeared very considerably larger.<sup>1</sup>

9<sup>th</sup>.—At noon, one of our ships made a signal of distress. The admiral made the signal for the *Solebay* and *Orpheus* to come within hail; the French fleet were rather upon our weather quarter, coming pretty fast up with us, and we were four miles to windward of the fleet. At sunset, the enemy's fleet had weathered us six or seven miles; they kept their wind, nor did we observe them tack at dark. Admiral Graves drew his fleet up in order of battle, but the French did not offer to come near him. At dark, being in twenty fathoms water, the fleet tacked.

10<sup>th</sup> September.—Saw nothing of the French fleet this day.

12<sup>th</sup>.—The admiral made my signal to come on board; received orders from him to stand in for the *Chesapeake* to look for the French fleet; in the evening saw them about Cape Henry.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Joined the admiral again and went on board; we were despatched again to reconnoitre the enemy's fleet.

14<sup>th</sup>.—I went on board the admiral; he gave me orders to proceed to England with his despatch. Sent our prisoners on board the *Orpheus*, and received about four tons of water from her. After dark made sail from the fleet. At midnight tacked and fetched but a little way to windward of our fleet.

15<sup>th</sup>.—At daylight the fleet three leagues astern; four sail upon the lee bow—the *Prudent*, two frigates, and a sloop of war; spoke the *Prudent*. At noon lost sight of our fleet; one ship of them standing after us in sight.

<sup>1</sup> A French 80-gun ship, though a two-decker, was of greater tonnage and had a heavier armament than an English 2nd rate.



16th.—Little wind and variable ; saw a fleet to the southward, consisting of eleven sail ; the reports by different persons from the masthead with a spy-glass differed very widely ; some made them all to be large ships, others to be all small, and a third said that there was one large ship and the others all small. The difference in opinion might be owing to the great distance we were from them, as they were only seen from the masthead. Before we lost sight of them, they appeared to be seventeen in number ; they were about twenty leagues from Cape Henry, and I calculate about ten from our fleet.

19th.—Saw a schooner to windward, wind at south ; she bore down upon us twice, four or five miles ; took no further notice of her.

20th.—At 4 p.m. saw a fleet bearing south ; at sunset they appeared to be twenty-one in number, and we had drawn them aft ; I therefore concluded that they were upon a wind to the westward ; six of them appeared to be large ships, but this was from the masthead ; this fleet were in lat.  $39^{\circ} 15'$  north, long.  $61^{\circ}$  west.

21st.—At 6 a.m. saw a schooner ; she passed to windward of us five or six miles, going to the westward.

22nd.—Blowing strong from the northward ; in the afternoon the wind at N by W ; at 8 p.m. the wind at NW, blowing a very hard gale of wind. We were under bare poles, and the ship went ten knots and four fathoms. In the night the wind came more to the westward and continued to blow very hard ; in the morning watch it began to moderate, and by noon of the 23rd the wind had greatly abated, but there was a very heavy sea from the westward. The mainmast had too much play ; got tackles on all the lee shrouds and took a pull of them together ; then the mast seemed to be pretty

secure. Before this gale came on we had a large swell from the SE, though there had been no wind to cause it.

27th.—Early in the morning it began to blow very hard ; the wind increased and blew a hard gale of wind at SE, but veered to the southward, where it has continued these two days past and blows fresh, the ship going eight to twelve knots.

29th.—One Green fell overboard and was drowned.

6th October.—At 4 a.m. saw a strange sail ; tacked and stood from her till daylight ; then tacked and spoke her, a Dane from Oporto, bound to Alderney. Saw a snow to leeward ; hoisted French colours to her ; she hoisted Swedes ; saw other two vessels to windward, the wind at NE by E.

9th.—Before day saw a sail to leeward. We were then upon a wind, with the starboard tacks, the wind at SSE. At daybreak this vessel tacked and got in our wake, and then tacked after us ; she came up to leeward within three miles of us. All this time we had taken no notice of her ; at half after 12 got all ready, put the helm a-weather, out all sail, and after her. Before she could get her sails set we had gained considerably upon her. At [ ] p.m. began to fire bow chase at her, and continued to fire a shot or two at her every now and then. She fired a few stern chase at us ; one of our shot carried away his topmast, and she struck ; she is called the Black Princess, from Boulogne, of 26 guns, twenty-four of them 9-pounders, the other two 12-pounders, commanded by one M'Carthy, an Irishman ; most of the crew are old country people. Took out all the officers, sent Lieutenant Smith with thirty men and twelve marines, with directions to secure his prisoners. When he told me that they were all secured, I made sail and left him. We

saw a fleet this morning ; lost sight of them about noon.

11th.—At 6 a.m. saw our prize brig to the eastward, and a ship to the southward ; bore down upon the ship within three miles of her, and made the private signal ; she was lying-to with her main topsail to the mast, main topgallant sail set, and no fore one. When I found that she was a line-of-battle ship, and did not answer the private signal, I steered two or three points wide of her ; she immediately filled her main topsail, set all her sail after us ; we hauled up, with intention to go to the northward of Scilly, and she soon after left off chase. Saw several other ships. We hauled to the southward, and went to the southward of Scilly, and the two-decked ship (which I took to be French) either chased us, or a polacca, which hoisted colours red, white, and red. We went on and passed Scilly, and by 4 p.m. it bore N by W. In the night between Friday and Saturday, at 2 a.m., we got near Portland, with variable and baffling wind ; I took to my boat, and a little before 7 a.m., Saturday morning, the 13th of October, I landed at Weymouth and immediately set off for London, where I arrived at nine the same evening. In a few days I left London and joined my ship, which had got into Dartmouth harbour. I proceeded in her to Plymouth to refit, soon after which I got leave to go to Dartmouth, and in [a] short time was appointed to the Ambuscade, at Plymouth.

#### *AMBUSCADE, 1782*

I sailed in her on Saturday, the 26th January, 1782, under admiralty order, for the westward, but that night and next day it blew a heavy gale of wind ; we were drove past Torbay ; therefore, about

2 p.m. on the 27th, run into Portland Road and came to an anchor.<sup>1</sup>

*31st January, Thursday.*—In the forenoon spoke a ship belonging to Nice, last from Malaga, bound to Ostend; she had seen an English privateer a day or two before. At eleven saw Ushant; run in for Brest so far as we could venture, none of us being acquainted; got within six or seven miles of Point St. Mathieu, but could discover nothing in the road; the evening was squally and very uncertain weather; at dusk stood out to sea.

*1st February.*—The wind to the eastward, and we lay in a fairway for seizing anything that might come out of Brest.

*13th February.*—At 7 a.m. set the courses and bore down on two sail to leeward. At 11 a.m. spoke one of them; she was from Madeira, bound to Bristol; the other a large Spanish ship, her prize. Lay by them until it moderated; at 4 p.m. sent a boat on board them; the captain, named Kimber, came on board; he saw the Spanish fleet forty leagues SW of Cadiz; the ship's name *Hornet*, a letter of marque; he had been to Madeira since seeing the fleet and taking the prize. Several papers of consequence, he says, were found on board the prize, which were sent home express by Mr. Murray, the consul at Madeira, by two different vessels that sailed on the 15th January, the one a Flemish the other a Portuguese vessel. The *Hornet* sailed from Madeira the 20th January; it was the 6th January that he saw the enemy's fleet, two sail of which chased him a few hours. The fleet consisted of forty-two ships of war, thirty-eight of which he took to be of the line; there were about thirty-six transports with them; they were steering to the west-

<sup>1</sup> It seems unnecessary to give the detail of Channel groping at full length. Some extracts only are printed.

ward, the wind easterly. It was the day after seeing the fleet that the *Hornet* took the prize; she sailed from Cadiz the day after the fleet. The prize is one of those ships taken in that fleet which were under the convoy of the *Ramillies*.<sup>1</sup> The commander of the *Hornet* says that the enemy's fleet were to cruise for a certain time; then all to return to port except four ships of the line, which were to proceed on to the West Indies.

15<sup>th</sup>.—This day I informed the commander of the *Hornet* that I could not remain any longer with him. He then gave me a letter for the Secretary of State from Mr. Murray, the consul at Madeira, containing all the information discovered by the prize papers; this letter the commander of the *Hornet* had not mentioned before. At dark, parted with the *Hornet* and her prize.

4<sup>th</sup> March.—[At Plymouth.] Received an order from the admiralty to proceed to Penzance to convoy a Dutch prize from thence, together with the trade there, and such as might be at Falmouth, to the Downs. I received information that the prize was at Falmouth, and could not sail from thence in less than a month. The main top was found unserviceable, and by the time we could get a new one it was time for me to set out for London to attend the trial of M'Carthy, who had commanded the *Black Princess* privateer. He was an Irishman from Rush, and commanded the privateer under French colours. He was tried for piracy, and condemned. I set out from Plymouth to attend the trial; took Dartmouth in my way, where I was taken ill of a fever, which prevented my being in London at the trial. A total change of the ministry took place. Lord Howe was appointed

<sup>1</sup> Off Cape St. Vincent on 9th August, 1781.

to command the Channel fleet; he hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*; the Honourable Leveson Gower, his captain,<sup>1</sup> and I was commissioned for the ship.

*VICTORY, 1782*

*25th April.*—Admiral Barrington arrived at Spithead, having captured the *Pégase*, a French 74, and several transports, bound to the East Indies.

*1st May.*—Commodore Elliot struck his broad pennant.

*3rd.*—Commodore Hotham hoisted his broad pennant on board the *Edgar*, late Commodore Elliot's ship; and Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt sailed hence in the *Royal George*, with the *Courageux*, *Bellona*, *Sampson*, *Vigilant*, *Goliath*, *Fortitude*, and *Monsieur* frigate.

*9th.*—Sailed from Spithead, and anchored at St. Helen's with the following ships—*Victory*, *Britannia*, *Edgar*, *Ocean*, *Union*, *Alexander*, *Queen*, *Raisonnable*, *Panther*, *Dublin*; frigates—*Minerva* and *La Prudente*; and three fireships.

*10th.*—Weighed from St. Helen's with the above ships and three small sailing cutters; the wind at W by S and WSW. We steered out upon a wind for three and a half hours, going four and five knots before we could keep her away SE by E, which course we steered all night.

*11th.*—In the afternoon, anchored in the Downs with the fleet. Found here Vice-Admiral Drake in the *Dromedary*, Rear-Admiral Sir J. Ross in the *Bienfaisant*, and the *Buffalo*.

*13th.*—At 6 a.m. sailed from the Downs with the fleet, consisting of the following ships:—

<sup>1</sup> As captain of the fleet.

Victory, Britannia, Ocean, Edgar, Dublin, Queen, Bienfaisant, Buffalo, Panther, Cambridge, Raisonnable, Alexander, and the frigates La Prudente and Minerva, and several cutters; we all passed through the Gull.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Stood in for the Texel; saw a fleet there cruising off the Texel.

23<sup>rd</sup> May.—The Ripon joined us.

29<sup>th</sup>.—The Termagant joined us, and was sent off again. In the afternoon the Princess Amelia, Alcène, and Mutine, cutter, joined the fleet.

30<sup>th</sup>.—The Alcène parted company.

31<sup>st</sup>.—The Queen, and afterwards the Panther, parted company.

1<sup>st</sup> June.—The Winchelsea joined the fleet, as did the Prudente soon after.

2<sup>nd</sup>.—The fleet separated: the Victory, Britannia, Edgar, and Minerva, and Tisiphone fireship, went for the Downs; the remainder of the fleet, under Sir John Ross, continued to cruise in the North Sea.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Anchored in the Downs. During this cruise in the North Sea the weather was cold, rainy, and blowing fresh in general; I believe the most unseasonable for the time of the year and length of time that ever was known. About this time the influenza broke out in the fleet; great numbers fell ill daily, eighty or a hundred of a day; very few died of this disorder; the few that did was owing to their being blooded in the beginning of the disorder, which was supposed to be an improper treatment of that disorder. The people on shore were equally bad of the influenza all over Europe and in the East Indies.

6<sup>th</sup>.—Weighed from the Downs with the Britannia, Edgar, Minerva, Tisiphone, and Harpy.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Anchored with the above ships at Spithead.

9<sup>th</sup>.—The Portland, Admiral Campbell, and several convoys sailed hence.

12<sup>th</sup>.—The Pearl anchored here from America, who brought Sir Henry Clinton home. Admiral Campbell and his convoy sailed from St. Helen's.

13<sup>th</sup>.—The above fleet put back to St. Helen's. About this time the Victory's and Britannia's ships' companies were taken ill of the influenza ; those two ships escaped it the longest ; eighty men were taken down in a few hours ; every one recovered in a short time.

26<sup>th</sup>.—Went down to St. Helen's.

28<sup>th</sup>.—In the evening, weighed with the fleet, consisting of the following ships : Victory, Britannia, Edgar, Courageux, Royal George, Dublin, Berwick, Fortitude, Goliath, Raisonnable, Queen, Bellona, Union, Cambridge, Sampson, Alexander, Bien-faisant, Buffalo, Princess Amelia, Atlas, and Foudroyant, with the Minerva, Diana, Andromache, and Tisiphone fireship.

29<sup>th</sup>.—Bore up and anchored at St. Helen's.

2<sup>nd</sup> July.—Afternoon, weighed with the fleet.

5<sup>th</sup>.—Half-past 9 p.m., anchored in Torbay ; thick, blowing weather. When we bore up, the fleet was to the westward of the Start ; in the thick weather we made the Prawle and were very near the shore before we saw it ; some of the ships were obliged to tack ; the wind at SW.

7<sup>th</sup>.—Weighed with the fleet ; the Ocean joined the fleet.

9<sup>th</sup>.—Received from several ships information of the combined fleets being at sea ; made the signal to prepare for battle.

12<sup>th</sup>.—At daybreak saw the combined fleet in the SW quarter ; the Victory and several other ships stood towards the enemy to reconnoitre them ; the fleet were ordered to form the order of sailing.



Many signals were made to the fleet in the course of this day ; we kept between the enemy and our own fleet ; a large three-decked ship of the French and six others got up abreast of us, and towards the afternoon five other ships of the enemy were well up with the other seven, just a little to windward ; these twelve sail might have brought our fleet to action if they had chosen it. The combined fleet consisted of thirty-eight sail of the line ; our force was twenty-two. The Spanish ships sailed heavy, and were a considerable distance astern of the French ; the van of the enemy's fleet were right to windward of us, and we went off with the wind on the beam. Towards evening the French bore up and pointed for the rear of our fleet ; we hauled our mainsail up, took in the topgallant sails and backed the mizen topsail, on which the enemy hauled the wind ; we continued our course with intention to get to the westward of them, to be to windward if we should come to action, and for the purpose of being between them and our West India fleet, which was daily expected. The wind was to the westward, and we could not weather Scilly ; the admiral therefore carried the fleet between it and the Land's End. At dark, lost sight of the combined fleet and saw nothing more of them [during] the cruise. Stretched to the westward with the fleet and got on the track of the West India fleet [which] were to come home. We cruised here for several weeks off the Skelligs<sup>1</sup> and to the westward ; saw but one of the West India convoy ; fell in with the Apollo ; she left us ; we soon afterwards fell in with her again, totally dismasted ; she fixed jury masts and was left out. During this cruise we saw but very few vessels of any kind, and the weather continued uncommonly bad ; blowing, raining, and cold weather.

<sup>1</sup> MS. has Skillocks, written over Blaskets obliterated.

13<sup>th</sup>.—The admiral called all the admirals and captains on board and explained to them his intention and manner of attacking the enemy if we should find it necessary to engage them. Exercised the fleet frequently during the cruise. Found no ground at a very little distance from the coast of Ireland.

2<sup>nd</sup> August.—Saw Scilly at 11 a.m.

3<sup>rd</sup>.—The Romney, Commodore Elliot, Mediator, Asia, and Rambler cutter, joined the fleet. Two p.m., the above ships parted company. In the evening the Union went to Plymouth.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Half-past 2 p.m., anchored with the fleet in Torbay; here we took in beer and water, blacked the yards &c., and put the ship in order.

6<sup>th</sup>.—The Bienfaisant sailed for Plymouth.

8<sup>th</sup>.—Sailed for Portsmouth the Cambridge, Asia, Raisonnable, Princess Amelia, Berwick, Fortitude, Ocean, and Buffalo.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Arrived here the Vengeance and Suffolk.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Weighed with the fleet; during our stay in Torbay the weather has been uncommonly bad, heavy rain and gales of wind almost continually. Spoke the Intrepid going to Plymouth.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Anchored with the fleet at Spithead.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Anchored here the Ganges, Crown, Vigilant, and Panther.

19<sup>th</sup>.—The ship's company were paid their wages.

21<sup>st</sup>.—The Edgar, Alexander, Raisonnable, Asia, and Bienfaisant dropped down to St. Helen's. Anchored here the Princess Royal.

22<sup>nd</sup>.—Commodore Hotham, in the Edgar, sailed from St. Helen's with the Goliath, Alexander, Bienfaisant, Raisonnable, Asia, Suffolk, and Berwick.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—Sailed from hence the Polyphemus.

25<sup>th</sup>.—The Ruby came out of the harbour.

28th.—Vice-Admiral Milbanke, in the *Fortitude*, with the *Bellona*, *Dublin*, *Sampson*, *Crown*, and two frigates, sailed for the eastward.

29th.—At 10 a.m. the *Royal George* was upon a heel, the lee-ports open, and I suppose she was heeled too much. She filled at the lower-deck ports and overset; <sup>1</sup> Admiral Kempenfelt and between five and six hundred people were drowned; 335 were taken up by the ships' boats. Received on board three boxes of money, 20,000*l.*, for Gibraltar.

3rd September.—Arrived here the *Blenheim*.

7th.—Admiral Milbanke, with fourteen sail of the line and two frigates, anchored here; and Rear-Admiral Hood<sup>2</sup> hoisted his flag on board the *Queen*.

10th.—Sailed from hence, and anchored at St. Helen's, the *Britannia*, *Foudroyant*, *Ruby*, and *Atlas*.

11th.—At 5 a.m. got under way with the fleet, consisting of the *Victory*, *Britannia*, *Queen*, *Ocean*, *Princess Amelia*, *Princess Royal*, *Blenheim*, *Union*, *Cambridge*, *Atlas*, *Royal William*, *Ganges*, *Foudroyant*, *Courageux*, *Berwick*, *Goliath*, *Dublin*, *Bellona*, *Vengeance*, *Egmont*, *Suffolk*, *Raisonné*, *Sampson*, *Crown*, *Buffalo*, *Panther*, *Ruby*, *Polyphemus*, *Edgar*, *Fortitude*, *Alexander*, *Bienfaisant*, *Asia*, and *Vigilant*, with five frigates and three fire-ships; the *Bristol* with the *East India* convoy, the

<sup>1</sup> This was presumably written at the time, though it seems strange that nothing is afterwards said of the very opposite finding of the court martial on September 9; Duncan was not a member of that court, but Gower was, and the subject must have been often talked of. Still more strange is it that two years later, when at Halifax, Duncan wrote to Howe, then first lord of the admiralty, a long description of a plan for raising this ship, which, he must have known, had been proved, at the court martial, to have fallen to pieces from sheer rottenness.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Hood, afterwards Viscount Bridport.

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Proserpine with the West India ; and the Panther was particularly charged with that for Gibraltar. The convoy went through the Needles, and we all joined off there in the evening, 184 sail.

This easterly wind, with which we sailed from Spithead, lasted to the 15th, by which time the fleet had cleared the Channel. The wind now came to the westward, and continued mostly so until the afternoon of the 29th. It then came to the northward and continued about twenty-four hours ; then backed to the westward again, and from thence to the northward. During all this time it was blowing and very disagreeable weather, the convoy not paying regard to any signal made to them. Many of them—those only in the King's service—soon began to complain of the state of their ships. The Duchess of Richmond, a large ordnance transport, lost her topmasts, made the signal of distress, and quitted the fleet in the night ; several of the vessels loaded with wood and coals returned to England ; others threw overboard part of their cargoes.

*30th September.*—The Bristol with the East India, and Proserpine with the West India convoys, parted company on their destined voyages, without losing a ship of their convoy.

*2nd October.*—The Termagant, with all the Oporto convoy, parted from the fleet off Cape Finisterre. Out of the number for Gibraltar, twelve or thirteen were missing.

*5th October.*—Made the land to northward of Lisbon.

*6th.*—Were abreast of Lisbon.

*9th.*—Passed Cape St. Vincent.

*11th.*—In the morning saw the entrance of the Gut of Gibraltar ; the same evening passed through ; the Panther and Buffalo had orders to lead the transports into the bay, but by mismanagement on

the part of the transports they all drove past the Rock except four sail.

12th.—Three or four sail more got in.

13th, *Sunday*.—The enemy's fleet came out of the bay and stood over towards their own shore. In the evening we passed them very close and stood to the southward. The Buffalo was ordered to proceed to the Zaffarine Islands with the transports that were now with us, about twenty sail, and return to Gibraltar the first easterly wind; she parted from us in the night, but half the convoy remained with the fleet; the wind came to the southward and eastward, and we ran down to Tetuan Bay with intention to anchor there to shift the troops and send a supply of powder to the garrison from the ships. We stood close in and found that there could not be anchorage for so large a number of ships.

17th.—In the evening the troops were shifted on board the *Courageux*, *Alexander*, *Foudroyant*, *Sampson*, *Asia*, *Latona*, *Minerva*, and *Monsieur*.

18th.—In the morning they made sail for Gibraltar. The Buffalo appeared with ten sail of the convoy, and they likewise made sail for Gibraltar; the ships of war all joined us again that night.

19th.—At 6 a.m. saw the enemy's fleet. They were standing to the southward and we to the northward; [they] thus had the wind of us, and we found upon trial that the space between Europe and Ceuta was not sufficient to draw up our line in form, and, as we should arrive down the Gut with the easterly wind, both shores would have been inimical; the admiral therefore bore up and ran through the Gut, the combined fleet of forty-six sail of three- and two-deckers following us, but keeping a respectable distance. We were under an easy sail and hauled to the southward, in hope that the enemy would run

right through and we might get the weather-gage ; but on the morning of the 20th they were more than hull down to windward. Our fleet was brought to, and formed a line ahead, with the wind upon the beam. The enemy kept bearing down upon us, but were so long in dressing their line that it was exactly sunset before a shot was fired. The action began in the van, and then in the rear, and lastly in the centre ; it ceased in the van and commenced again there, and went through the line as at first. It appeared that we were full as near as any part of our line ; the ships opposed to us kept up a heavy fire, but, being in the moonlight and at such a distance, we received little or no damage. We did not fire a shot, which probably might make the enemy believe that we were not within gun-shot. Our launch was sunk astern ; the fore-yardarm knocked off ; several shot in the hull and sails, but no men killed or wounded. Various were the conjectures of the enemy's intentions upon our fleet ; I fancy they had no plan, and only thought it incumbent on them to make some show of an action where it was put in their power with so great odds. We lay all next day, 21st, to leeward of them and in sight ; but they made no attempt to come near us, though they had the wind.

24th.—I was despatched express in the *Latona* with the admiral's account of the action.

The English fleet consisted of 34 sail of the line, being 11 three-deckers and 23 of two decks. A return of their loss in the action gives 70 killed, 132 wounded.

The combined fleet consisted of 46 sail of the line, being—

French, 4 three-deckers, 8 two-deckers.

Spanish, 3 three-deckers, 31 two-deckers.



**EXTRACTS FROM THE PAPERS  
OF  
SAMUEL, FIRST VISCOUNT HOOD**





## INTRODUCTORY

VISCOUNT HOOD has kindly permitted me, in the interests of the Society, to examine the papers of his illustrious ancestor, the first Viscount. They are, unfortunately, not numerous, and, with the exception of the few here given, contain nothing of general interest. The accounts of the battle of the 12th April have no particular value, especially in comparison with the long and careful narrative of Captain Chevalier; and most readers will probably agree that by far the most important of these extracts are those (pp. 244-6) in which Hood himself explains the meaning of his supersession from the Mediterranean command in 1795—a supersession which drew from Nelson the bitter cry: ‘O miserable board of admiralty! They have forced the first officer in our service away from his command.’ But the letter to Sir William Hamilton of the 21st November, 1793 (p. 237), has also a particular value, as Hood’s personal account of some of the difficulties with which he had to contend at Toulon.

The peculiarity of Hood’s phraseology has been dealt with by Mr. Hannay in a previous volume;<sup>1</sup> but after all, though his language frequently leaves much to be desired from the point of view of the literary artist, or even on the score of clearness, it was, at its worst, lucidity itself in comparison with the ordinary style of Howe.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N. R. S. iii. p. xix.

<sup>2</sup> *Twelve Sailors: from Howard to Nelson*, pp. 334-6.



## EXTRACTS FROM THE HOOD PAPERS.

*THE KING TO SIR SAMUEL HOOD*

Windsor Castle : 12th July, 1778.

When at Portsmouth I opened unto you my intention of placing my third son, William, into the naval profession. Since that time I have received a short memorandum from Captain Digby of the things that might be necessary for the young sailor, but it was so much in general that I cannot well act without further explanation. I, therefore, shall be particularly obliged to you, Sir Samuel, if you will write down what clothes, necessaries, and books he ought to take. This will enable me to be ready when called upon by the captain for this young one. He has begun geometry, and I shall have an attention to forward him in whatever you may hint as proper to be done before he enters into that glorious profession. I trust you will, whenever my intentions come to be publicly known, throw out to your friend the propriety of his allowing a small place to be made with light sufficient for William's following his studies, as I should rather wish this appeared a politeness of the captain than an application from me.

I cannot conclude without expressing my approbation at the activity with which you forward the business of the Dockyard, and the comfort I feel at so many ships having by this time left Spithead. I trust the Lion will soon follow.

GEORGE R.

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*THE KING TO SIR SAMUEL HOOD*

Kew : 27th May, 1779.

Sir Samuel Hood,—By the Portsmouth waggon which will arrive on Saturday I have sent an hair trunk, two chests and two cots done up in one mat, to be delivered unto you for the use of my young sailor. I desire you will order them to be put into one of the storehouses until Rear-Admiral Digby chooses to have them put on board of the Prince George. I flatter myself you will be pleased with the appearance of the boy, who neither wants resolution nor cheerfulness, which seem necessary ingredients for those who enter into that noble profession. I hope the change of the master shipwright will greatly advance the business of the yard. My attachment to Portsmouth is too well known for you to doubt my desire of having every branch filled there with at least as able hands as those in any other ; indeed, your activity deserves every assistance that can alone be obtained by having proper inferiors.

GEORGE R.

*THE KING TO SIR SAMUEL HOOD*

Kew : 11th June, 1779.

Sir Samuel Hood,—This will be delivered unto you by Mr. Majendie,<sup>1</sup> who is to attend my son on board of the Prince George to pursue his classical studies ; the young midshipman will be at the Dockyard between one and two on Monday. I desire he may be received without the smallest marks of parade. I trust the admiral will order him immediately on board. I know I need not

<sup>1</sup> Henry William Majendie, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and afterwards successively Bishop of Chester and of Bangor.

recommend Major-General de Bude<sup>1</sup> to you, for whoever is known to belong to me ever meets with attention when within your walls.

The young man goes as a sailor, and as such, I add again, no marks of distinction are to be shown unto him ; they would destroy my whole plan.

GEORGE R.

*THE KING TO LORD HOOD*

Queen's House : 16th April, 1783.

Lord Hood,—Your letters of the 24th December and of the 8th of February arrived on the 14th of this month. By the first, I find my son's health continued good, and that he showed the ardour which I trust will never desert him, of wishing to meet one of the fleets of the powers then at war with us. Your dispositions seem to have been very judiciously made to have effected this desirable object ; but men cannot be disposers of events, and still less on so unstable an element as the sea.

In the second you express your satisfaction at the behaviour of my son, which gives me the more pleasure, as I am convinced you would not so positively assert it if you was not of opinion it deserved approbation. At the same time I cannot admire the warmth he has shown in the disputes that have arisen between him and Captain Napier, of which his own account to me bears the strongest marks.

William has ever been violent when controlled. I had hoped that by this time he would have been conscious of his own levity, and that, in his station, his conduct must be more studied than in that of persons who, from the privacy of their birth, cannot be held out as examples for others to look up to. The advice you gave him when he opened his

<sup>1</sup>A Hanoverian officer, a Swiss by birth.

complaints against Captain Napier was such as I should have expected from you, and which ought to have had more effect than by the sequel it seems to have had. Perhaps the captain, from a zealous anxiety to have William's conduct coincide with my wishes, may have been too hasty, yet as that could [only] arise from so proper a motive, my son ought to have felt obligation not [to] indulge a degree of violence which has warped the whole tenour of his letter to me on that subject.

The letters Captain Napier has written to Mr. Majendie testify his gratitude for the countenance he has received from you since he came with my son on board of the *Barfleur*. I totally leave it to your judgment whether he shall remain till you and my son return to Europe, which cannot be many months, or whether he shall sooner quit your ship. I will speak to Lord Keppel that he may be made a post-captain<sup>1</sup> when he leaves you, and that orders for that effect may go in the frigate which must soon be sent with instructions for recalling at different periods the fleets now in the West Indies. When your division receives orders to return, you will bring William with you, and will give Captain Knight,<sup>2</sup> or any other officer you can depend upon, orders to accompany him when not with you, as it would not be proper he should be left to the sole guidance of his volatile imagination.

GEORGE R.

<sup>1</sup> The Hon. Patrick Napier was made post-captain on 8th August, 1783, but had no service in that rank, and died in 1800.

<sup>2</sup> John Knight, captain of the *Barfleur*.

*ACCOUNT OF THE ACTION OF THE 12th OF APRIL.**By an officer of the Hector.<sup>1</sup>*

The fleet under the command of the Count de Grasse left Fort Royal, Martinique, the 8th day of April, at eight o'clock in the morning, with a convoy consisting of 120 sail destined to Cape François. Several regiments of infantry were embarked on board the ships of the squadron, together with bombs, mortars, cannon, and all the other implements of war necessary for a siege.

On the 9th at break of day the English fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail of the line, of which five were three-deckers, were close up with us, and our fleet (thirty-three sail of the line), much scattered and mingled with the convoy, occasioned by a calm we had experienced the preceding night under Guadeloupe. In order to cover the convoy and enable them to collect in shore, several of our ships were obliged to bring to with their broadsides to the enemy. The wind soon after freshening, the whole convoy put about, and stood for the harbour of Guadeloupe for shelter; the men-of-war were also enabled to rejoin the main body of the fleet, and to fall into their stations in the line which was then forming in the inverted order of battle, on an opposite tack to the enemy.

At half-past twelve, being within half gun-shot, we opened our fire upon some of the English fleet and continued it till half-past three, without sustaining any material damage; on coming out of action we hauled to the wind and made sail.

The 10th, in the morning, we found ourselves some distance to windward of the English fleet, which we saw in the SE quarter; our fleet

<sup>1</sup> This is the endorsement on the paper. There is no further clue to its authorship.



working to windward between the Saints and Dominique. . . . This afternoon, the *Magnanime* being to leeward of us without a main topmast, and the advanced ships of the enemy drawing up with her, we bore down to her support; but, on joining her, finding she had nearly repaired her damage, we again hauled our wind under easy sail, the general's intention being to weather Guadeloupe. On the 11th, the *Caton* and *Jason* put into Basseterre Road to repair some damages they had sustained. On the 12th, at dawn of day, we saw the *Zélé*, which had run foul of some ship in the night, far to leeward, without her mizenmast and bowsprit, in tow of the *Astrée* frigate, whom the general had directed to assist her, but, the English squadron chasing and looking up so as to cut off the *Zélé*, the general determined upon giving battle as the only means of saving her. The signal was accordingly made to prepare for battle and clear ship, and soon after formed the line in the inverted order of battle on the opposite tack to the enemy, and bore down to them, within musket-shot. Their van soon passed, without doing us any essential damage, but the wind dying away when we were opposed to their centre, composed of three three-decked ships and the rest of 74's, we continued in that situation full two hours, supported by the *Citoyen* and *César*.

Just before it fell calm we perceived the *Glorieux* dismasted; and the *Ville de Paris* and several other ships wearing to cover her occasioned an opening in our line, which enabled the enemy to divide it and throw us between two fires. On the wind increasing we stood towards the enemy's rear, which we were two hours passing, and at 12 o'clock ceased firing after having been engaged four hours, during which time the ship received material damage in the hull as well as in the masts, sails, and

rigging, and lost so many men at the guns, on the two decks, that we were obliged entirely to abandon the poop and forecastle to replace them.

The enemy's fleet having tacked to close with us, we made sail to get up with our fleet to leeward, seven ships excepting, which still kept well to windward. Half-past one we again renewed the action with our stern chasers ; at this time we had several ships of the enemy to encounter, some of which played upon our quarter, and did us infinite mischief. The *César's* situation was very similar, and was obliged to strike her colours at half-past six.

On our part we still kept up a very brisk fire, but, the situation of the ship becoming at length very critical, several of the officers came upon deck from their quarters to represent the state she was in to the captain ; but this brave man, who had throughout eminently supported the honour of the French flag, still continued to encourage the people with astonishing coolness ; but on a three-decked ship coming within pistol-shot, her aspect so intimidated them that many men run from their quarters, and as the captain was putting his foot upon the ladder with an intention of going between decks to put to death with his own hand some of those dastards as an example to the rest, a cannon-ball took off his thigh very near to me, as I was following to convey his orders.

On the captain's being carried down to the cockpit and Monsieur de Beaumanoir, first lieutenant, requesting to know his intention with regard to the further conduct of the ship, he directed him to surrender in case it met the consent of the officers of the ship, and, *all* being unanimous in this opinion, we struck our colours after engaging nine hours, during the whole of which time the pumps had been con-

stantly going, and at the moment of our surrender had fifty-four inches water in the hold. This obliged us to hail the Alcide, and desire to be taken possession of so soon as possible, and soon after they sent a detachment on board for that purpose. We had a hundred men killed in the action and the like number wounded. At eight o'clock at night the César blew up, but without making a great explosion. The next day we steered for Jamaica, and, having put the ship in the best state possible, arrived at Port Royal the 29th after having experienced much bad usage from the English. The 1st May a part of the English squadron anchored in this harbour, with the Ville de Paris, Ardent, Caton, Jason, and Aimable.

*Relation of the Action between the French fleet under the command of Monsieur de Grasse, consisting of thirty sail of the line, and the English fleet under the command of Admiral Rodney, on the 12th April, 1782, off Dominique.*<sup>1</sup>

On the 11th, the wind easterly and the French fleet being considerably to windward of the Saints, and on the point of weathering Marie Galante, intending to lead out that way by Antigua, and thence proceed to St. Domingo, in order to form a junction with the Spaniards, when the Zélé, com-

<sup>1</sup> Evidently a translation from the French; but there is no clue as to the author; though perhaps there are some indications that he was a lieutenant of the Ville de Paris. The strong blame thrown on Bougainville seems to point in this direction; so does the account of the signal to wear, which is very different from that given by Chevalier (*Histoire de la Marine française pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance américaine*, p. 295). The whole account of the battle should be compared with Chevalier's, and also with that given by Matthews in his *Twenty-one Plans of Engagements in the West Indies*.

manded by Monsieur Préville,<sup>1</sup> unfortunately run on board the *Ville de Paris* (by which she carried away her bowsprit and mizenmast), and occasioned the subsequent action between the two fleets. On the dawn of day on the 12th, the *Zélé*, being a great way to leeward, was exposed to be cut off by the English fleet (which since the affair of the 9th had so manœuvred as not to lose sight of us). Monsieur de Grasse, unwilling to lose this ship, made the signal to prepare for action, and for the fleet to bear down on the enemy in the inverted order of battle. The action began at seven o'clock in the morning by the two fleets ranging up with each other on opposite tacks; at eight o'clock the general made the signal to engage, which signal was kept flying during the whole action; at nine o'clock our van, commanded by Monsieur Bougainville, being engaged at a great distance from the enemy, Monsieur de Grasse made the signal for the whole fleet to wear together, in order to bring the van nearer the enemy and to support our centre and rear, which were vigorously engaged with the enemy's van and part of their centre. By this manœuvre Monsieur de Grasse brought his fleet upon the same tack with the enemy, and by hauling his wind might have discontinued the action whenever he judged proper (his intention being only to engage until the *Zélé*, which was in tow of a frigate, had time to get into Guadeloupe). This movement was not complied with by the whole squadron, the ships ahead of the *Hector* continuing to keep their wind, and by forcing sail occasioned an opening between the centre and van; at this time, the wind failing prevented our ships from being under proper command for action. At ten the *Glorieux* was entirely dismasted, her captain,

<sup>1</sup> Le Chevalier de Gras-Préville.

Monsieur d'Escars, being killed early in the action, and Monsieur Trogoff,<sup>1</sup> first lieutenant, fought her until eleven o'clock, when, finding himself surrounded by the English fleet and deprived of the means of further resistance by the loss of his masts and of many men, he was compelled to strike. At eleven o'clock it was quite calm, which threw both fleets pell-mell together, and the engagement continued on each side within pistol-shot, excepting our van, which had all along kept to windward. At one o'clock the wind freshened, and the English fleet availed themselves of it to divide our line in the opening the conduct of the van division had occasioned between the *Brave* and the *Citoyen*. On their doing this Monsieur de Grasse made the signal to reform the line to leeward of the enemy and to engage close. Monsieur Bougainville and his squadron probably mistook this signal for that for flight, as he immediately crowded sail, and quitted the fleet in apparent good condition.

The *Couronne* and *Languedoc*, neither of which ships had kept their stations punctually since the beginning of the action, were hailed by the general himself, and directed to keep in the *Ville de Paris*' wake to support him ; they both replied to him by a 'Oui, général' ('Yes, general'), but notwithstanding bore up, and crowded all the sail they could to join Monsieur Bougainville, abandoning their commander-in-chief. Their example was soon after followed by all the ships of the centre and rear, the *César* and *Hector* excepted, who stuck by the *Ville de Paris*, and were soon surrounded by the English fleet ; the *Ville de Paris* and *Hector* each lost a topmast and lower yard, yet kept up a tremendous fire. At four o'clock the *César* was boarded by an

<sup>1</sup> Trogoff de Kerlessi. In MS., Strothoff.

English ship of the line, and, four others firing at him at the same time, he was obliged to strike at half-past four. At five o'clock the Ardent, one of Bougainville's division, from a remorse of conscience, attempting to rejoin and support the general, was taken by a 74, which made her strike the first broadside. At six o'clock the Ville de Paris and the Hector struck their colours and clewed up their sails. Behold the termination of this melancholy day for France, which was occasioned solely by the Zélé's misconduct; and it is to be remarked that this was the fourth ship she had run on board of only since her leaving Fort Royal.

*LORD HOOD TO THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR  
AT MADRID*

Victory, off Cape St. Mary's : 14th June, 1793.

Sir,—I take the earliest opportunity of informing your Excellency of my being so far on my way to the Mediterranean, with a very powerful fleet under my command, which I flattered myself I should have had the honour of doing near a month ago, but was ordered to cruise at the entrance of the English Channel for the protection of a rich convoy from Gibraltar and Cadiz, which had so tedious a passage that I did not see it in safety until the 8th of this month.<sup>1</sup> So soon as the water of my fleet is completed, I shall proceed off Toulon in hopes of meeting the French fleet. On my arrival at Gibraltar I shall make it known to his Majesty's ambassadors at Lisbon, Naples, and Turin, as well as to the Spanish admirals at Cadiz and Carthagea, and

<sup>1</sup> Compare with this Nelson's letters of 18th and 20th May and 5th June, 1793 (Nicolas, *Nelson Dispatches*, i. 306-7). Nelson, grumbling—as subordinate officers will sometimes do when they think they know better than their seniors—wrote: 'We have been sent out only to hum the nation—I don't like it.'

express my very sincere desire to each of cultivating and maintaining the most perfect harmony and good understanding, and to co-operate with them most cordially, as far as circumstances will permit, in carrying into effect such measures as shall be judged expedient by the allied courts of Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Sardinia, with Great Britain, against the common enemy; and that I shall at all times be ready and happy to afford the most effectual protection and support to all lawful authority, and to maintain inviolate the rights of sovereign and independent nations against the dangers with which they are threatened on the part of France; and that I shall not fail to consider myself at full liberty to give the aid and assistance of the force committed to me in defending the coasts and territories of his Majesty's allies, and of the states in amity with his Majesty, against any attacks they may be menaced with, as well as in protecting and covering any attack to be made against the common enemy, in the prosecution of which my co-operation may be desired, as far as the great and leading object of my instructions will allow me, which is that of seeking and giving battle to the fleet of France, and of securing to his Majesty's subjects and those of his allies the free and uninterrupted navigation of the Mediterranean. The first moment I am able I shall despatch an officer to Genoa to meet an officer from the King of Sardinia, and to receive from him the plan of operations his Sardinian Majesty has in contemplation, either for recovering possession of Nice and such other parts of his dominions as have been so unjustly seized upon by France, or for prosecuting the war against that country, in order that I may be able to judge when and how far it may be in my power, consistently with the other objects of my instructions, to take measures for

facilitating and assisting in such operations ; and I beg to assure your lordship that I shall not fail to catch at any and every opportunity of most cordially co-operating with the respective admirals and generals commanding the fleets and armies of the allied Powers against the common enemy. I have the honour herewith to send your Excellency a list of the ships composing the fleet under my command, and hope and trust the several states bordering upon the Mediterranean will be impressed with a just idea of the strength and power of Great Britain.

I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient and very faithful humble servant,

HOOD.

His Excellency the Right Hon. Lord St. Helens, &c., Madrid.

*LORD HOOD TO THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR  
AT NAPLES*

Victory, Toulon Road : 21st November, 1793.

Sir,—My little packet boat had rather a tedious passage from Naples, as I did not receive the very obliging letter your Excellency did me the honour to write me, on the 31st of last month, until the 15th instant at night. I am perfectly at a loss what the Chevalier Forteguerra means by my receiving and treating him with great coolness from his first coming, because I am conscious of not having given occasion for his saying so in the least degree whatever. Upon his arrival, I requested the honour of his company and that of all his captains to dinner the next day ; after that I called alongside his ship, but had not the good fortune to find him on board. I then met [him] at dinner on board the *Britannia*, the ship that bears Vice-Admiral Hotham's flag, who is next in com-



mand to me ; the second day from that I repeated my invitation to him to meet the flag officers of my fleet, with Admiral Langara, but he was unluckily engaged ; his captain, however, came, and he did me the honour a few days after that to ask me to dine with him. I made a point of waiting upon him, although I was at that time far from well, and it would have been better for me to have stayed in my own ship, as I have ever since been almost wholly confined to my cabin. The chevalier therefore has shown a great want of fairness and candour for covering and attempting to justify his very extraordinary conduct. He is undoubtedly the proudest, most empty and self-sufficient man I ever had anything to do with, and totally ignorant of the common rudiments of service, [as] I am sorry to say he has most evidently proved himself. If the King of Naples intended (as I am very confident his Majesty did), by sending his fleet, that it should be fully assisting to the good of the common cause entrusted to me, and not to gratify the pride and vanity of Commadore Forteguerra (who is fond of having as many Neapolitan flags daily to look at as he can), the captains must be under my orders, or it is useless in a great measure ; for instance, if I should see occasion to send three or four Neapolitan ships to sea with three or four English, it would be impossible for Commadore Forteguerra to give them orders, because the officer under whose command they would be put would neither know where he was to go or what he was to do until he was at some distance from the port. We have spies all round us employed by the Convention, and therefore intended services for any part of a fleet under my command must be perfectly secret ; but should the vanity of the commodore be gratified by my desiring him to put certain of his captains under the

direction of any English one, instead of knowing it by those captains carrying my orders to him, which they would naturally do, I have no objection to it ; but by that he would know that he had rather be treated as an infant than as an officer. All the orders that I gave to the Neapolitan captains were sent to Commodore Forteguerra, with a request that he would have the goodness to give directions for their being delivered ; but he would not permit any of the captains to obey any order of mine, although I gave them in obedience to the commands of his Sicilian Majesty. I therefore could no longer have communication with him. I have never attempted to interfere with the commodore's regulations with respect to his ships in port ; but it is impossible they can go to sea but under my orders, unless I depart from my duty, for there cannot be two commanders-in-chief ; and, as the chevalier will not suffer any order of mine to be regarded, I have declined giving out signal pennants ; so that if I had occasion upon any emergency to call a Neapolitan captain to me, I must send a boat with an officer (very unseemly surely for a commander-in-chief to do), however inconvenient, instead of throwing out a ship's pennant. But notwithstanding the opinion I have had such just ground to form of the commodore, I entreat your Excellency will do me the honour to assure their Sicilian Majesties, as well as General Acton (for whom I profess very great respect and of whom I have the highest opinion), that it shall not in the least degree lessen my invariable attention to the real interest of the Two Sicilies, which shall on all occasions be equal to what I can show to Great Britain, or hinder me from manifesting, under whatever circumstances may arise, the most sincere personal regard and attachment to the officers and men of his Sicilian Majesty's ships and troops.

I feel myself compelled to it not only from duty but inclination, and flatter myself his Majesty will be convinced of it whenever the service that brought the Sicilian forces here is over; and, although I cannot hold the Chevalier Forteguerra in any great degree of esteem after his having departed from truth in order to cover his ignorance and folly, I shall never be wanting in that respect and attention due to an officer of his rank, and I defy him to prove that I have hitherto been so, in any instance whatever. What the chevalier can mean by saying that your Excellency's letters to Toulon have been the occasion of the Neapolitans being humbled as they are, I cannot guess, and think he ought to be called upon to explain himself. But it is rather singular that I should have a similar charge against me for being partial to the Neapolitans. I am afraid I must plead guilty to this, if I am judged by my thoughts (but on no other account), because I do not hesitate to say that I have a far better opinion of the Sicilian troops than I have of the Spanish; but, confined as I have been to my ship for some time by bodily complaints, it has not been in my power to show partiality to either. Your Excellency will, I am sure, allow that the Neapolitan troops have a claim to a preference in my estimation when I relate what passed in the evening of the 15th between four and five o'clock. Our post (and a very material one it is) upon the heights of Grasse was attacked, and would have been lost but for the presence of Lieutenant-General O'Hara, Governor of Toulon, at a very critical moment. His Excellency was very fortunately on board the Victory to meet our colleague, Sir Gilbert Elliot, who arrived from Genoa in the preceding night; and on perceiving the firing to increase [he] got into a boat and rowed for the shore

as expeditiously as possible. When he reached the height the French were almost close to the work, the Spaniards retreating and firing their muskets in the air ; upon which the governor sent for the Royals to advance, who jumped off the works and were soon followed by a dozen or fifteen Neapolitans emulous [of] imitating so good an example under the eye of their general, who could not bring the Spaniards forward, by which the enemy were put to flight. This is the report the governor made to me on his return to the Victory about eight o'clock. I herewith send your Excellency an account of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the combined forces as made to me next morning. We know not the loss of the enemy, but it must be pretty considerable, as seventy muskets were collected, with many dead bodies, and some mortally wounded.

It is with real and most unfeigned grief I sympathise and condole with your Excellency on the sad catastrophe that has befallen the late good Queen of France. How very severe a stroke upon their Sicilian Majesties ! My heart bleeds for them. What truly diabolical wretches these conventional Jacobins are ! The subject is too painful to dwell upon. I have ordered the admirals, captains, and officers of his Britannic Majesty's fleet under my command to go into mourning for three weeks on the melancholy occasion.

Sir Gilbert Elliot is charged with a commission from the King containing very extensive powers for managing the affairs of Toulon, and such other parts of the southern provinces of France as may be inclined to put themselves under the protection of the English, as the Toulonese have done. And his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to put my name at the head of it, joining Governor O'Hara and Sir Gilbert Elliot with me. I have been ex-

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tremely uneasy about part of the last division of Neapolitan troops, as the Samnite has been arrived ten days, but am happy now to know that they are all safe in the several ports of Genoa. I have neither seen nor heard anything of Le Chevalier Forteguerra since I had the honour of receiving your Excellency's letter, but I sent him notice yesterday that I should dispatch a cutter to Naples this day.

I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem, your Excellency's very faithful and obedient humble servant,

Hood.

To his Excellency the Right Hon.  
Sir William Hamilton, K.B., &c.

*SIR GILBERT ELLIOT TO LORD HOOD*

Bastia : 15th September, 1794.

My dear Lord,—I had the honour of receiving last night, by Captain Gore, your lordship's letter of the 11th enclosing copies of my letters to the consuls of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and a copy of your lordship's letter to the consul of Algiers, together with [a] copy of Mr. Windham's intelligence concerning the detention of the transports sent with the garrison of Calvi to Toulon, and a paper of intelligence from Genoa sent by Mr. Drake.<sup>1</sup> I received at the same time a letter from Mr. Drake acquainting me that it was his intention to go to Genoa immediately, but as he must necessarily pass within six miles of Alessandria, he could not avoid waiting on the archduke at that place. I have no doubt that Mr. Drake will do his duty. His abilities cannot be doubted. The present times, indeed, require firmness even more than talents, and I am persuaded he will not be found deficient in

<sup>1</sup> Francis Drake, minister at Genoa.

that quality. I received yesterday from Mr. Brame<sup>1</sup> a copy of the secretary of state's answer to our note on raising the blockade of Genoa. I have the honour to send you a copy of it, although I am persuaded you will already have received it. I have also received the despatch and enclosures from Lord Grenville, of which I have the honour to enclose copies. I send also for your lordship's perusal my letter to Mr. Drake. If any ship of war should happen to be going immediately to Genoa, I will trouble your lordship to forward my letter by that opportunity. I must otherwise request your lordship to send it to Mr. Udney,<sup>2</sup> with instructions to forward it immediately by *estafette* to Mr. Drake at Genoa. I cannot express the obligation I feel myself under to your lordship for your very kind intention of affording me an opportunity to see you before your departure for England. It will be to me a day of the most sincere regret; and not more on private than on public grounds. I have a just sense of the merits of every officer whom you will leave behind; but I confess that my hope has been accustomed to rest on the Victory's anchor. We must fight the good fight, however, and do our best.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord, your Excellency's most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

GILBERT ELLIOT.

*LORD HOOD TO THE SECRETARY OF THE  
ADMIRALTY*

Victory, St. Helens : 28th April, 1795.

Sir,—I beg to trouble you with a statement I thought it my duty to deliver to Mr. Pitt and Earl Spencer on the 18th March, subsequent to a conversa-

<sup>1</sup> John William Brame, consul at Genoa.

<sup>2</sup> John Udney, consul at Leghorn.

tion I had the honour to have with them respecting the force necessary to be employed in the Mediterranean, which I wish to lodge as a record of my sentiments in the admiralty office. Since that statement was delivered, the French are reported to have launched two ships of the line at Toulon ; and six of the line, three frigates, and a corvette are known to have arrived at that port from Brest ; and the British force is reduced by the loss of the *Illustrious* since Admiral Hotham's action with the Toulon squadron, in which two of the enemy's ships were taken, and previous to which the *Berwick* was captured ; and, as I am ever ready to put my name to any opinion I might have given, I owe it to myself to have it upon record ; particularly as I am convinced the force under my command, when united, in the Mediterranean, will be very unequal to that of the enemy and [to] the various services committed to my charge. But although I have not the shadow of prospect of being able to add lustre to the arms of his Majesty, I entreat to have credit for doing my utmost that they are not disgraced. I have the honour to be, &c.,

HOOD.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

#### *LORD HOOD'S STATEMENT*

The force of the enemy at Toulon is at this time eighteen sail of the line, and will probably be twenty by the end of May. The British fleet in the Mediterranean consists now but of fifteen of the line ; upwards of one thousand four hundred seamen short of complement ; the crews of some of the ships in a mutinous state, and, as force may become necessary to restore discipline and proper subordination, no officer who looks to the honour and credit of his Majesty's navy can venture to

take upon him the charge and command of the Mediterranean fleet with one ship less than twenty of the line, without risk of becoming the instrument of disgrace to the nation, by encountering difficulties that appear great and almost insurmountable, and which evidently stare him in the face. Admiral Lord Hood therefore feels it his duty humbly to make this statement, and thinks it right to add that the Fortitude, Bedford, and Agamemnon (and, he believes, the other sixty-four also) require to be sent home upon the arrival of the first convoy from England.

Hood.

London : 18th March, 1795.

*MEMORANDUM BY LORD HOOD*

Admiral Lord Hood, believing he had a pretty correct knowledge of the real state and condition of his Majesty's fleet, as well as of the strength of the enemy in the Mediterranean, ventured to suggest the force that appeared to him immediately necessary to be employed upon that station, which, after some hesitation and demur on the part of the first lord of the admiralty, was at last in a great measure granted. But upon his receiving official information that six sail of the line and three frigates were actually arrived at Toulon from Brest, and no one ship, great or small, added to the force destined to go with him, he became alarmed, and consequently felt it his duty, from regard to the public as well as to his own situation, to express his sentiments upon the subject in a letter to Mr. Secretary Nepean, which occasioned his dismissal from the command of the Mediterranean fleet and an order to strike his flag. It was his duty to obey, and he makes no complaint, being sensible the admiralty board has an undoubted right to employ those naval



officers it thinks will best answer the public service ; but, admitting he may be thought to have erred, he humbly conceives an officer that has unremittingly laboured for fifty years to acquire some degree of character in his profession was entitled to a little consideration, from the feelings he must naturally be impressed with to preserve that character for the short remnant of his life, and that so harsh a measure was unnecessary ; he, however, submits, and can with great truth say that the cause of his dismissal proceeded from the purest motive—very sincere regard for Great Britain's glory ; conscious there is not an officer in his Majesty's service who has with greater zeal and industry endeavoured to acquit himself in the discharge of his duty as a faithful servant of his Majesty and the country than he has invariably done. This he feels a consolation that will bear him up against the displeasure of the admiralty to his latest moments, and he will rejoice if what has happened to him proves beneficial to the nation.

How bitterly Hood felt this is shown more clearly by the following :—

*LORD HOOD TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM WOLSELEY*

[*Innes's Life of Admiral Wolseley*, p. 107]

Greenwich Hospital, 2nd August, 1796.

My dear Wolseley,— . . . Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to be able to assist your wishes in any respect whatever, as I not only esteem you as an honourable man, but as a gallant meritorious officer. But to be candid with you, I can be of no use to any one ; for Lord Spencer is not content with marking me with indifference and inattention, but carries it to all who have any connection with me. You will therefore do well, in any application you may make to his lordship, not to make mention of my name. I have neither seen or spoken

to his lordship since my flag was struck, and look upon myself as thrown upon the shelf for ever. It may be right it should be so. But a consciousness of having discharged my duty with zeal and industry, as a faithful servant to the public, in the several situations in which I have had the honour to be placed, will bear me up against the treatment I have, and must ever think most undeservedly, received, and will not fail to cheer my declining years. With every good wish for your health and success in life, I am most sincerely your faithful, humble servant,  
HOOD.

*MEMORANDUM BY LORD HOOD*

Lord Hood most humbly conceives he has a claim to be considered, as the commander-in-chief in two actions he had with the French fleet in the West Indies. In the first, on the 29th April, 1781, off the island of Martinique (Lord Rodney being then at St. Eustatius); when he lay by with eighteen sail of the line of his Majesty's ships to receive and give battle to twenty-four of the enemy, under the command of the Count de Grasse, which he pursued and dared to a renewal of fight for two days, notwithstanding he was obliged to direct a ship of his squadron of 74 guns<sup>1</sup> to seek her safety in the best manner she was able in the night of the 29th, as she could with difficulty be kept above water from gun-shot leaks and from being otherwise much disabled. In the next (Lord Rodney not being then in the West Indies), when he proceeded to seek the enemy at St. Kitt's. On the 24th January, 1782, after taking his departure from the island of Antigua, he made a disposition with the king's squadron under his command for attacking the French fleet at anchor in St. Kitt's road early the next morning; but unfortunately, that night the *Alfred*, of 74

<sup>1</sup> The *Russell*.

guns, ran aboard of the *Nymphé* frigate, by which both ships were greatly disabled, and the whole of the next day was employed in putting the former in a condition to fill a station in the line. This gave the Count de Grasse time for getting under sail with his fleet, and, upon his stretching to some little distance from the land, Lord Hood thought a fair opening offered of possessing the ground the enemy had quitted, which appeared to promise the best prospect for relieving the island, then besieged by a large army. He accordingly anchored the king's fleet of twenty-two ships of the line in a line of battle ahead, in the face of the enemy's fleet, consisting of twenty-nine of the line, and in that position he received and resisted two attacks from the whole French force, and maintained his situation in defiance of the Count de Grasse until the island capitulated on the 14th February. The next day the French admiral anchored his fleet in full view to windward, which then consisted of thirty-two ships of the line, Monsieur Vaudreuil, in the *Triomphant*, from Europe, having joined with two other ships a few days before. This very superior force made it highly prudent and expedient for Lord Hood to quit St. Kitt's road that night. On the 12th April, 1782, Lord Hood did his duty in common with other officers under the immediate command of Lord Rodney, and has this satisfaction, that he had the honour and happiness, on the 9th, of showing an example of firmness when the division under his command received and resisted two attacks from double its number of the enemy's ships, at which time the centre division of the English fleet was becalmed six miles astern, and the rear division sixteen.

When Lord Hood was the commander-in-chief in North America, from the summer of 1767 to the

end of the year 1770, he was particularly directed to use every means in his power to conciliate the minds of the people; and during his residence at Boston he expended upwards of fifteen hundred pounds beyond his pay, by keeping an open table and doing acts of benevolence and charity; and on this score he has never been considered in any manner, notwithstanding his successor in that command for merely following Lord Hood's example was paid by Government the sum of fifteen hundred pounds, although his stay in North America did not exceed twelve months. Lord Hood applied by memorial to Lord North upon this subject time after time, for some years, without effect; and he believes he has more real cause to complain of hardship and injustice than any officer in his Majesty's service. Lord Hood has the good fortune to boast the heartfelt satisfaction of having received the most flattering testimonies of approbation of his public conduct, as an officer who has done his duty well, from his countrymen and fellow-subjects at large; but he remains unnoticed by Government, and he most humbly hopes and entreats that whatever consideration Parliament shall think him entitled to may be extended to the rank and dignity his Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon him and his heirs, having made no fortune in the course of his services.

Hood.

*LORD BRIDPORT TO LORD HOOD*

Cricket Lodge : 15th December, 1796.

My dear Lord,—The post last night brought me an official letter from Mr. Nepean, acquainting me that my commission and instructions were sent to Portsmouth. In consequence of it, I shall set out tomorrow, and I hope to arrive there on Saturday

evening, unless retarded by bad roads or the want of horses. I understand the commission the admiralty have given me is similar to that I received when at sea after the 23rd June, 1795.

As soon as I know the purposes of this appointment your lordship shall hear from me. Lady Bridport will remain at Cricket some time longer, and she will be glad to hear from your lordship. When you have anything to communicate, your lordship will direct to her, and frank your cover. I am pretty much hurried in arranging my matters, and therefore must conclude my letter with assuring your lordship of all good wishes from hence, to Lady Hood, Mrs. Hollwell, and Miss Lane ; and I am, my dear Lord, your faithful and affectionate

BRIDPORT.

Friday, 12 o'clock.

I have this instant received my instructions, which I like very much. Lord Hugh<sup>1</sup> has just gone from me, and Pole<sup>2</sup> is on board. I must be gone on Sunday. The admiralty is the best conveyance of letters to me. Pray tell Lady Bridport so when your lordship writes to her.

#### *LORD BRIDPORT TO LORD HOOD*

Royal George : 23rd December, 1796.

My dear Lord,—I have received your lordship's affectionate letter of the 21st, for which I give you many thanks. Sir Alan Gardner is come down, hoisted his flag, and I have seen him. He is, in my

<sup>1</sup> Rear Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour, at this time one of the lords of the admiralty, but also serving under Bridport, with his flag in the *Sanspareil*.

<sup>2</sup> Rear-Admiral Charles Morice Pole. In the following March he was appointed first captain of the *Royal George*, Bridport's flagship. He died admiral of the fleet in September, 1830.

opinion, seriously ill. His captain told me yesterday that he could neither eat nor sleep, but he goes out with me. Lord Hugh came down yesterday, I suppose, as I see his flag is flying, but I have not yet seen his lordship. I apprehend Rear-Admiral Pole is also at Portsmouth, and I expect to see both this morning. Rear-Admiral Parker and his squadron are put under my orders, in consequence of the sailing of the Brest fleet, and I suppose the West Indies and Lisbon convoys are stopped, as they do not sail with this favourable wind. I judge we shall move from hence together, and I believe all will be ready by Monday. If the admiralty are prepared to give me my instructions, I intend sailing that morning. I wrote to Hotham at Bath, but I suppose he was gone from thence before my letter arrived there. Death of the Empress of Russia is a great political event; but I rather think we shall not lose the assistance of that court in prosecuting the war with vigour, if peace cannot be obtained to the security of Europe. I thank your lordship for the intelligence from Fremantle, whose achievement must be very useful to the troops and ships, if provisions can be obtained from Leghorn, by our being in possession of the places mentioned in your lordship's letter. We shall have many reports of French squadrons, and it is possible those at sea will do us some mischief, if neither Colpoys nor myself can fall in with them, unless they strike some blow on the coast of Portugal and afterwards secure themselves in the Spanish ports.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bridport has been frequently blamed for not being at sea, off Brest, when the French sailed on 16th December, and for slackness in getting to sea in pursuit of them. As he had not received his commission on the 15th, and on the 23rd was hoping that he might have his instructions by the 26th (Monday), it is clear that the negligence lay rather with the admiralty. As to

I rejoice to hear that Lord Amherst is got quite well, and I think the great earl<sup>1</sup> will also recover soon after my sailing from hence, as I believe he will never be well enough again to hoist his flag and go to sea. I think this a settled measure. I hope Wheler and Samuel will get safe to Whitby, and I suppose your son is on his passage home, by not hearing from him. Farewell; best regards attend your whole house. I am, my dear Lord, your faithful and affectionate brother,

BRIDPORT.

*LORD BRIDPORT TO LORD HOOD*

Royal George, Torbay: 12th September, 1798.

My dear Lord,—I wrote a long letter to your lordship yesterday, which Sir Alan Gardner had charge of, as well as my public dispatches. He anchored in Cawsand Bay this morning. When he left me it was my intention to have kept in my station, but the wind changing from south to NNW and blowing with great violence in the afternoon, and all last night, I bore up for this anchorage, where I am just arrived with Sir Charles Thompson<sup>2</sup> and ten ships of the line. Under the above circumstances, I was authorised by the admiralty to shelter the fleet against the fury of all equinoctial gales. The Royal George ought to be docked, as she sails the worst ship in the fleet; she is, besides the ignorance of everybody of the movements of the French, see Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, i. 360.

<sup>1</sup> Howe.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Thompson was second in command in the battle of Cape St. Vincent, for which he was made a baronet. Afterwards, he incurred the wrath of the commander-in-chief for 'presuming to censure' the execution of mutineers on a Sunday. He was accordingly recalled and had been appointed to a command under Bridport. He was at this time in failing health, and died in the following March.

her foul bottom, extremely weak in her upper works and very leaky ; from this consideration she therefore requires to be strengthened and new coppered. Her frame is shaken, as well as my own, and both require repairing and refitting. If the admiralty shall consent to the docking the *Royal George*, which I applied for when I was last in port, whenever she could be spared, and I think at no time can she be better spared than the present, it is my intention to repair to *Cricket*, and from thence to *Bath*, as I have applied for leave of absence from my duty during the operation of docking and repairing my ship. If your lordship should go to town after this letter is received, I wish you to write a line to *Lady Bridport*, and let her know the result of this measure, as her motions will be governed by it.

I find *Admiral Man* is to take *Lord Hugh Seymour's* seat at the admiralty, which I think he will fill with credit to himself and advantage to the service, as I believe him an honourable and upright man.<sup>1</sup> I have not yet heard what *Lord Spencer* has allotted for *Lord Hugh*, but I suppose his future services will be soon announced. It is possible it will end in his coming home ; indeed, he is at present under my orders. What think you of seven frigates cruising off *Corunna* under the orders of three commanders-in-chief ? The admiralty gave me authority to send three upon the station ; *Lord St. Vincent* has given orders to the *Caroline* and *Aurora* to cruise there, which I think ought not to be, as he must have employment sufficient for all his numerous frigates to the southward of *Cape Finis-*

<sup>1</sup> *Man* was universally well spoken of as a brave and upright officer ; but when we remember the lamentable error in judgment which led to his being summarily ordered to strike his flag in *January 1797*, it cannot but appear astounding that within two years he should be called to a seat at the admiralty.



terre and in the Mediterranean ; and nothing has surprised [me] more, in the moment when Ireland is attacked by a foreign enemy, and rebellion in the country, to find Vice-Admiral Kingsmill's frigates cruising in the latitude of  $42^{\circ} 21'$  ; as the Naiad's Journal transmitted to me by Captain Pierrepont mentions the falling in with the Dryad and Révolutionnaire, two of the Irish squadron, which would have been much better employed in that part of his Majesty's dominions if they had been stationed off Killala and Sligo Bays. I see this measure in so strong a light that I think the commander-in-chief at Cork should be called upon to account for the employment of his frigates off Cape Finisterre. I see also by the paper that another of his cruisers have made captures in the latitude of  $46^{\circ} 00'$ . While Kingsmill is employing his naval force as above described, I am ordered by the admiralty to send two sail of the line off Cape Clear. The Seahorse and the Triumph I put under his orders three days ago, on their arrival on that station. Farewell, my dear Lord. All health and happiness to your lordship, and whole house. I am your lordship's affectionate brother,

BRIDPORT.

*LORD BRIDPORT TO LORD HOOD*

Royal George, at Sea : 9th October, 1798.

My dear Lord,—Your lordship's affectionate letters of the 28th past and the 1st instant were received this morning by the Lady Duneen lugger, from Plymouth. I give your lordship joy of the total defeat of the French fleet at anchor at the mouth of the Nile. A more complete and brilliant battle never was fought. I think Bonaparte's army will be also destroyed.

I have heard nothing from any of the ships I

detached in quest of the squadron that sailed from Brest. But I have sanguine hopes that it must be attacked and taken if it should attempt to land troops in Ireland. The last account of its route was dated the 22nd September, in the latitude of  $45^{\circ} 21'$ , and then steering a W by N course. I am extremely glad to hear that Mr. Pitt is in high health. I think Nelson's victory will give him joy beyond expression, and if the squadron from Brest can be attacked it will afford grateful subject for the king's speech whenever parliament shall meet. I hope your lordship will have no occasion to try the effect of a blister, but that horse exercise will answer better by removing all complaints.

I have not heard a single word on the subject of Lord Hugh Seymour. He is still under my orders and his ship is in dock repairing, and I have heard she is in bad condition. I have much business upon my hands in the letter way before I can dispatch the lugger, and I must therefore conclude this by desiring your lordship will accept, and present to all under your roof, all affectionate regards. I am, my dear Lord, your faithful brother,

BRIDPORT.

Lady Bridport was well the 4th instant, and speaks of having received letters from your lordship. I hope Sir R. Carr Glyn will succeed to the city chair, as I should be very sorry to see an improper person to fill it at this critical juncture.

*CAPTAIN SAMUEL HOOD TO LORD HOOD*

Courageux, Torbay : November, 1800.

My dear Lord,—Having again returned to Torbay with the fleet this afternoon owing to a SW gale, I avail myself of the first moment to thank your lordship for your letter of yesterday week, which

I was prevented getting until now owing to our sudden departure by an eastern breeze, that put us to sea at a moment's warning ; and also I have to thank you for your letters from Salt Hill and Reading, which I got the other day off Brest from Plymouth. We were extremely fortunate in the sharp winds we had whilst in Torbay last ; the north-wester, which did damage almost in every place, only cost here five or six cables, and all brought up again except the Ramillies, who was obliged to put to sea by parting to windward and not room to bring up ; she was conducted through the fleet with much judgment, and returned the next day. We sailed Monday last under Sir Henry Harvey, and were joined on Thursday, off Ushant, by Sir Hyde Parker in the Royal George, who took the command. I think he looks as well as ever, and better than when he left the Mediterranean. How far the winter cruising will suit I am doubtful ; he will have all the flag, the earl having taken up his winter quarters at Tor Abbey, and her ladyship with him. Sir James Saumarez, with seven sail of the line, we left off Brest. In the former gale he was obliged to come to this bay ; but his squadron—considering being out in the severe past—suffered but little ; some few sails ; the Centaur and Amelia their mainmasts sprung ; and Edgar, the knee of her head, from being rotten, and obliged to go into dock. I much fear many of our ships are not much better. We sail again the first eastern breeze ; but from what I can perceive of Sir Hyde's first movement I don't think he will risk the fleet in strong western breezes, having this time with good judgment bore up on its first appearance, from which we have escaped a sharp gale which now blows. Captain Brown, who came home in the Vanguard, has now the Robust in lieu of Captain Countess.

I am sorry to say the latter's being superseded was from, I believe, his own complaints of the mutinous conduct of his crew. They cut her rigging in Cawsand Bay ; and, indeed, she appeared to my first lieutenant in so bad a state of discipline that whilst I was at the admiral's he had stopped any communication being held with her. I saw a letter from her commander to Sir John Warren, which was sent to the admiralty, and was of itself sufficient. He is a worthy, good man ; his mild disposition and ill-health was, I fear, the cause. The loss of the Marlborough<sup>1</sup> on the Glenan rocks your lordship will have heard [of] ; all that we yet have learned is the crew are all saved. When I get the particulars I will give them to your lordship. By a letter from Sir James Saumarez the enemy at Brest are in the same state. I am sorry Lord Keith has been so unsuccessful.<sup>2</sup> I wish Lord Nelson had been given the command ; things, I think, would have altogether gone more to our advantage. The former seems to be too *great* to consult people who are informed of the local situation of the country, which he himself does not appear to have a right knowledge of. I perceive, by the papers, part of the forces under Sir James Pulteney are gone to Lisbon ; the Portuguese will not much relish this step in the present moment. The *Courageux* having been in the line, we have had no trial except under easy sail, under which she goes well. The admiralty talk of shortening her masts, but I shall object, as at present, from her extreme spread of rigging, it is difficult to brace up her yards, and we never can get a mast, yard, or sail to fit her. Being now of the

<sup>1</sup> 4th November.

<sup>2</sup> At Cadiz, 5-7th October, 1800. Cf. Allardyce's *Life of Lord Keith*, pp. 243-6. Public opinion took the view which Captain Hood here expresses, rather than that of Mr. Allardyce.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES  
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS  
TO THE PRESENT TIME  
BY  
J. W. FULTON  
AND  
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*EXTRACTS FROM THE CATHCART PAPERS*

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LETTERS  
OF THE  
HON. WILLIAM CATHCART  
CAPTAIN, ROYAL NAVY

S 2



## INTRODUCTORY

EARL CATHCART has been so good as to place in my hands a collection of letters written by (or with immediate reference to) his uncle, the Hon. William Cathcart, during his service in the navy from 1795 to 1804. The extracts which I have made embody all the matter of naval or general interest; they can scarcely be called historical, but they do give a pleasant insight into the familiar and social life of the navy during the great war, as well as some amusing instances of the slang of the day.

William Cathcart, eldest son of William Schaw Cathcart, 10th Baron Cathcart in the peerage of Scotland, and first Earl Cathcart (1814) in the peerage of the United Kingdom, was born on 30th June, 1782; and after a few years (1791-5) at Eton, from which he carried away enough Latin to fit quotations from Martial, &c., into his letters, he entered the navy in August, 1795, as a volunteer on board the *Melpomene*. His junior service, as shown by his passing certificate, was—

Ship	Rating	Dates	y. m. w. d.
<i>Melpomene</i> .	vol.	9 Aug. '95-12 Ap. '96	0 8 3 3
<i>Pallas</i> . .	sup <sup>ry</sup> .	6 May '96-20 Aug. '96	0 3 3 2
<i>Romulus</i> . .	a. b.	21 Aug. '96-13 Jan. '97	0 5 0 6
Do. . .	mid.	14 Jan. '97-12 Nov. '97	0 10 3 2
<i>Alcmène</i> . .	mid. and mast. mte.	13 Nov. '97-7 Mar. '99	1 4 0 3
<i>Majestic</i> . .	mid.	8 Mar. '99-2 Dec. '99	0 9 2 4
<i>Princess Augusta</i> (yacht)	a. b.	3 Dec. '99-23 July '00	0 8 1 2
<i>Triton</i> . .	m. mte.	24 Jy. '00-24 Ap. '01	0 9 3 2
<i>Cambridge</i> . .	sup <sup>ry</sup> .	25 Ap. '01-9 May '01	0 0 2 1
<i>Medusa</i> . .	m. mte. & acting lieut.	10 May '01-31 Aug. '01	0 4 0 2
Total			6 0 0 6



On the 2nd September, 1801, he passed his examination, with certificates of conduct from Sir Charles Hamilton (Melpomene), Captain Browell (Princess Augusta), and Captain Gore (Triton and Medusa). Captain George Hope, with whom he had served in the *Romulus*, *Alcmène*, and *Majestic*, was abroad (p. 299), and the certificate was dispensed with. Immediately after passing (2nd September) young Cathcart was promoted to be lieutenant of the *Medusa*, and from her (14th April, 1802) was made commander (p. 308). He commanded the *Renard* from the 28th September, 1802, to the 14th April, 1804, when he was appointed by Sir John Duckworth, in the West Indies, acting captain of the *Clorinde*. It was but for a short time. He died at Port Royal of yellow fever on the 5th June, 1804.

The ship was severely scourged. The first lieutenant, George Pringle, nearly died at the same time; his brother, a midshipman, did die; the purser, too, Robert Goldin, had a narrow escape. A lieutenant, some two or three other midshipmen, and fifteen seamen died. Captain W. F. McDonald, who succeeded Cathcart in the command, died on the passage home (28th June). Goldin, writing to Lord Cathcart on 12th August, in Hamoaze, says that Captain Cathcart was 'quite indisposed' on the morning of the 31st May, and asked Captain McDonald, who was breakfasting with him, to make his apologies to the admiral. McDonald refused, and 'endeavoured to rouse him from his dejection of spirits.' So he went to the dinner, as told by Sir John Duckworth (p. 331).

Except where otherwise stated, the letters are all written by William Cathcart.

## CATHCART LETTERS

*TO LADY CATHCART*

Pallas, off Cadiz : Friday, 15th July, 1796.

We sailed about a fortnight ago [from Gibraltar] to Tangier, about nineteen miles from Gibraltar, with the English consul, and in coming back fell in with our admiral and we sailed to Cadiz. The squadron consists of seven sail of the line and two frigates. We can see Richery and the French squadron at an anchor, but must not attack them, because they are in a friend's port. They are all ready for sea with their sails bent, but dare not come out. The Spaniards come out to us with fruit, provisions, and wine, and they say that the French have no money, and the Spaniards won't trust them, so they must either come out or starve. The Spaniards have one and thirty sail of the line ready for sea, manned and all, and it is generally believed the Spaniards will make war with us. I was on duty on board the admiral yesterday, and heard that the consul had told the admiral about it. The French hoisted their colours over the English and fired a salute either in commemoration of the grand massacre, or the retaking of their late King after he tried to make his escape ; but the rascals won't come out and salute us because they are afraid we should waste too much powder on them. The Pallas is sent in chase every day, but has taken nothing ; the Magicienne has taken two, and the

Terpsichore one, and we share in them all, as she belongs to the fleet. We fell in with Admiral Linzee in the Princess Royal to-day, and as he is going home I took the opportunity to write to you.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

Victory, off Toulon : 2nd September, 1796.

I left the Pallas the day I wrote my last to you. I came up in the Chameleon brig, Captain Bowyer, who was remarkably civil to me. He desired me to remember him particularly to you and mama ; he invited me to breakfast, dine, and sup with him every day, and paid me every possible attention. When we came up with the fleet, Sir John Jervis ordered me to come aboard the Victory, as there was no chance of the Romulus joining us these three months. She has gone to cruise with Commodore Nelson off Leghorn. Sir J. desires to be remembered to you. He invited me to dine with him yesterday, and was very civil to me. Captain Grey is extremely civil to me, too, and takes great care of me ; he is going to have me taught navigation. I am writing this to you in his cabin ; he has put me in a remarkable good mess, and we live very happily. We had a dance last night in the gunroom (where we mess). We began at eight and left off at ten. We all stripped off our coats and waistcoats and shirts, and kept on only our trousers. We have a great deal of room in her. The admiral has his cabin divided into three parts : one, a servant's room, another a dining-room, and the other a sitting-room. He has been off Toulon five months and intends to remain here four more. We have hot rolls for breakfast, and eggs, and fresh beef for dinner. Our grub and water are brought off by the transports from Corsica every

fortnight. We go so near the land that the French fire at us and have killed some few of the Britannia's and Goliath's men ; they wounded the Zealous' bowsprit, but do no damage to signify.

TO CHARLES CATHCART<sup>1</sup>

Victory, off Toulon : 25th September, 1796.

Since I saw you last I have been in three different ships—in a frigate, a brig, and a first-rate ; you can't think how much they differ from one another. When I got into the brig, after having been in a larger and more commodious vessel, she appeared to me to be the most despicable thing under the sun ; but when I got into the Victory I was quite amazed. I could not find my way about her. Sir John Jervis inquired whether I had any brothers, and when I told him I had, he asked me what profession they intended to follow, and I told him you were to be a soldier. He said he hoped you would pay great attention to your French, for it was one of the most necessary things for a soldier, and that you should likewise learn German. We see the French fleet every day, and the French fire at us ; the shot often go between our masts, but never do us any damage. It blows very fresh here sometimes, and rains with great violence ; the worst of it is, that it comes on in squalls, which makes it much more dangerous. . . . This is a pleasant cruise to the last one, for then we were on allowance of water and salt provisions ; our tea and sugar was all out, and we lived upon ship's allowance only ; we were allowed half a gallon of water a day to cook with and drink besides.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Cathcart's second son, born 1783 ; afterwards, second Earl Cathcart.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

Romulus, Naples : 22nd November, 1796.

I write this to you from Naples, and am sure of its reaching you, as it is going with Sir William Hamilton's to England. Captain Hope introduced me to Lady Hamilton to-day, and she introduced me to Sir William. . . . She is a beautiful woman. She is writing now at the same table I am. We have met with terrible disasters since I wrote to you and were very near lost. As we were cruising with the *Pallas* off the Straits of Bonifacio, we were overtaken by a most dreadful hurricane that the oldest sailor never saw up here. Our bowsprit, fore mast, main topmast, mizen mast, and topgallant masts [went] at one time. Just when the fore mast went we made six inches of water in ten minutes' time. We lost one man, who was drowned, and had another desperately wounded ; he had one thigh and both legs broke, but he has since died. It was my watch when we carried away our masts. You can't think how dreadful it was to see the men drop overboard. I was wet through and bruised, but not otherwise hurt. As soon as they went it was all hands to clear the wreck. . . . I am not sorry that it has happened, for we have got a skulk by it, and full allowance ; for before we were on two-thirds of provisions and half a gallon of water per man per diem, served out in the morning, which you know did not go far among hungry reefers. Lady Hamilton has been so good as to let me stay here some days while we are here, when Captain Hope can spare me.

*An Account of a Row that happened between H.M. ships Romulus and Thalia's boats, 27th April, 1797, and the Spanish Squadron [in the] Straits [of] Gibraltar*

On the 27th April at about 12 p.m. [noon] we saw a brig, under Danish colours, close in with Algeziras (a Spanish town opposite the Rock), where three frigates and about seven gunboats lay, and I take it to be about seven miles from the Romulus to the Spanish squadron. At about half-past twelve we turned the hands up, out boats; hoisted out the barge and sent her, and the launch, manned and armed, to the brig's assistance. It being calm, we had about seven miles to row. At about 12.50 p.m. we sent the large cutter and some merchantmen's launches manned and armed after them. The second lieutenant, who commanded, went in the barge, the master in the large cutter, and the boatswain in the launch. At about one, we manned and armed the small cutter (the best rowing-boat in the ship), and a Mr. Herbert and myself went in her; she was extremely well manned, and to make the surplus above her complement be of some use we double-banked the oars, and by that means overtook the other boats and got near the launch.

As soon as we had got within musket-shot of the brig, the batteries on shore, gunboats, and frigates began to open a cannonade on us. There were two Spanish boats towing her, who, to show their courage, on our approach, quitted her and got under the muzzles of their guns, and then began to fire on us. The brig was then going large with all her steering sails set on the starboard side, endeavouring to run herself ashore. Our people, directly they got on board her, put her helm down

and doused all her steering sails, hauled forward the larboard tacks, and by that means got her head off-shore. By this time we were under her bows to receive her tow-rope. There was a terrible current setting in-shore, and the shot from the batteries and gunboats went over and over us. About this time, a six-and-thirty pounder hulled the brig and knocked a splinter from the companion, which struck a marine in the back and doused his house in a shake. By this time all the boats belonging to us and the *Thalia* had the brig in tow, and two Spanish gunboats were coming up with us hand over hand. The water being smooth, they fired some excellent shot at the boats and brig, which came skimming over us like a duck and drake, and hulled the brig in several places.

At this time, the gunboats coming fast up with us and perceiving the *Romulus* to have the recall flag up, we evacuated the brig, taking out an Englishman who was prisoner to the Spaniards, and pulled on board. When we had got about half-way back we met an English gunboat coming to our assistance, who we cheered. We got on board at about 3.40 p.m. with the loss of one man.

*An Account of a Mutiny that happened on board  
H.M. ship Romulus, 29th June, 1797, at St.  
Michael's*

After the business that happened at home the purser's eighths were taken off and added to the former allowance, which made it 16 ounces to the pound; but, as we could not get the weights and measures, we were obliged to pay short-allowance money in their lieu. Unluckily for us, the *Latona* came into St. Michael's while we were there, and our captain was obliged to pay his respects to

Admiral Waldegrave, and our boat (as is a custom in the *Romulus*) was obliged to lay on her oars. The crew, of course, complied with the orders, and the *Latona's* hissed them for obeying their orders and hove them in a letter dedicated to the ship's company, in which they represented the business at home, and mentioned about sending Admiral Colpoys ashore with a halter round his neck.

On Thursday, the 29th, at about 8 a.m., the people run down below, unshipped the ladders, and gave three cheers, and secured the arms that were in the gunroom, and went into the bay.<sup>1</sup> The captain then ordered the officers to arm, which they did instantaneously, and lowered themselves down after him. We found him trying to appease the people forward in the bay, telling them to go on deck, which they did, and run two guns in and pointed them aft. After a great deal of confusion and many frivolous complaints, their spokesman came forward and required the captain to turn two officers out of the ship and go to England; which he told them he neither could nor would comply with. They then threatened to fire the guns; but the captain jumped down and told them to fire if they dared. The first lieutenant did the same on the other side, and that completely pauced them. At last we saw the *Hind* and *Eurydice* standing in, upon which they began to strike the water down ready to have a box with them. We then made the signal for the *Mahonesa's* captain; but they refused to let him come alongside, only the captain threatened to leave the ship, and go to England in the *Mahonesa*; upon which they let him come on board, and we sent him to order those frigates not to come near us. In short, we frightened them so much by representing

<sup>1</sup> The foremost part of the main, or rather, as it was then called, the upper deck.



the affair at home in its true light, that upon promising not to try any of them by a court-martial they chose twelve of their number to make peace with us. After they had consulted for about a quarter of an hour, they wanted the captain to give them a written promise; but he told them, if they could not take his word, he was not fit to be their captain, and he would not do it; at last they made it up, so we gained possession of the ship after an interregnum of five hours.

*TO LORD AND LADY CATHCART*

Alcmène, Tagus : 14th April, 1798.

We arrived here on Wednesday (after a cruise of fourteen weeks) with a Spanish ship (called the *El Cede*<sup>1</sup> from Monte Video, in the River Plate, bound to Cadiz) in tow; we took her between Cape St. Vincent and Cape St. Marie; she is loaded with hides and tallow, copper, ostrich feathers, &c., and I expect to share better than a hundred pounds for her as midshipman. In the first part of the cruise we took three privateers, retook an English and an American vessel and a Portuguese schooner, in company with H.M. ships *Thalia* and *Lively*. We are now refitting, and I expect we shall go on our summer's cruise in about a week's time. If we make as good a cruise of it next time as we have this, I think I shall do very well, and be able to purchase myself a few charts, and a good spy-glass, which is the pleasantest thing in the world to be possessed of. I don't expect to get home before the war is over now, as we have got into a fine new ship, that sails decently.

<sup>1</sup> *El Cid*, presumably.

## TO CHARLES CATHCART

Alcmène, at Sea : Sunday, 6th May, 1798.

I hope, my dearest Charles, that you continue to pay attention to writing and arithmetic. You can't think at what a loss I was for it when I first left England, but now, thank God, I am a tolerable proficient in those sciences. There are also some other trivial things, which seem very trifling to you, but without which you will appear ridiculous ; such as carving meat. How ridiculous it is to see a man, in the character of a gentleman, who, if he is required to cut up a fowl, cannot do it ; and what unnecessary confusion it gives him to excuse himself ! I am very much at a loss in these particulars, but I can make shift to cut one up after a sailor's fashion, which is done by cutting it down the middle. However, we are so seldom troubled with them that it is excusable in me ; but in you it would be inexcusable, as you are living on the fat of the land. I can carve a piece of beef, or pork, to the greatest exactness, and particularly if we are on short canny,<sup>1</sup> which is sometimes the case. We have got a famous prize at our stern, for which I expect to clear better than a hundred pounds, for we have sent her to Gibraltar, and I think she will sell well there. . . .

We have just left Gibraltar after a stay of about four days. Sir John Orde gave a grand chevaux,<sup>2</sup> to which he was so good as to invite me. He introduced me to General O'Hara and a Mrs. Fyers,

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is clear enough, but the expression is quite obsolete and unknown.

<sup>2</sup> This would now, I think, be written sheave-o. Sir Cyprian Bridge suggests that it may have been introduced into our and the United States navies by the South Sea whalers, and be an adaptation of the Samoan *siva* or *shiva*, a native dance or corroboree.

who, he says, is acquainted with mama. I never saw anything neater in my life. The quarter-deck was neatly dressed up with flags, and the bits were covered with flowers. The ladies had just gone to breakfast, and I was just going down the ladder, when I met Captain Hope, who told me that if I went down I should lose my passage, as he was going to get under way immediately: so I was obliged to clap my helm hard up and go aboard with him. We are going to cruise off St. Sebastian's lighthouse.

I suppose you have heard of the loss of the *Lively* off Cadiz.<sup>1</sup> It was owing to the neglect of the leadsman, who had got his line foul, and, being ashamed to own it when the captain asked him what water he had, said he had no bottom; and before he could get another cast the ship ran ashore; and when they found all their endeavours to get her off prove abortive, they blew her up to prevent her getting into the hands of the Spaniards.

*TO LORD AND LADY CATHCART*

Alcmène, off the Nile: 20th August, 1798.

I have just time to write a few lines to you, as I perceive our fleet getting under way in Bequier Roads to proceed to Gibraltar. We arrived here the 13th of this month, and are cruising off Alexandria blockading the French fleet of merchantmen and transports, who, it is expected, will capitulate, as they are starving. If not, we intend to throw shells at them from the line-of-battle ships' poops and the frigates' launches. We have an 18-pound Cap of Liberty for our launch. The *Zealous* is to be our commodore, and the *Swiftsure* is to be of the squadron. We burnt one of the prizes Thursday

<sup>1</sup> On Rota Point, 12th April.

night, and I never saw so awful and magnificent a spectacle in my life. You could count her ports through the flames, and her masts seemed to be illuminated. There are two more to be burnt as soon as we have got rid of our prisoners, who we are sending to Alexandria as fast as possible. They will be a fresh incumbrance on the French convoy. Bonaparte, they say, is blocked up at Grand Cairo by the Moors, and can neither advance nor recede. The French flag is still flying at the town and castles of Alexandria.

We are the most unfortunate in the world. We have been hunting for our fleet these three months ; we were once past Candia and understood our fleet had gone back, so we returned, and when we got to Sicily our fleet had left it four days. We immediately went after them, and found them thirteen days too late. We chased and fired at a Spanish corvette, but she escaped under Cape San Sebastian. We chased and got within half gun-shot of a French frigate in company with the *Emerald*, but she got in between a small isle and Sardinia to the southward of Cagliari ; but I hope we shall do some good among this immense fleet of merchantmen at Alexandria. I have no time to [write] more, as it is my watch on deck and I have prevailed with one of my messmates to look out for ten minutes for me, which are nearly expired. We are bearing up to speak to the admiral. I hope you and all my brothers and sisters are quite well ; as for me, I am as hearty as a buck, and can eat my allowance as well as any boy in the barky.

TO CHARLES CATHCART

Alcmène, off Alexandria : 26th August, 1798.

The Portuguese fleet, under the Marquis de Niza, have joined us, and we expect to bombard

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Alexandria soon. I hope in my next to be able to inform you that the French fleet have surrendered to us. There has been a taut action here between Admiral Nelson and the French, in which we took and destroyed eleven sail of the line and two frigates. One of their largest ships blew up in the action, with eleven hundred men on board. Pray excuse all defects, as it is my watch on deck and I am writing on the quarter-deck.

*TO LORD AND LADY CATHCART*

Alcmène, off Alexandria : Monday, 27th August, 1798.

We were a good distance from our squadron to-day, and the commodore made a signal which I believe was No. 176, the purport of which is, that a ship is going to Gibraltar, so I embrace this opportunity to let you know that I am in perfect health.

. . . We are now cruising between Alexandria and the River Nile with three sail of the line and several frigates, under the orders of Captain Hood, of the *Zealous*. We are blockading the French fleet in the port of Alexandria. We took a French gunboat coming with despatches from the *invincible* General Bonaparte. We took her in the following manner. At about two p.m. we saw a boat standing with all sail set for Alexandria ; we immediately steered athwart her, under easy sail, intending to board her. We might be going about seven knots, with a heavy swell from the northward. We had stationed several marines at small arms, and orders were given for nobody to show themselves above the barricading ; she took us for a Venetian frigate and did not run away from us. As soon as we hailed her, she hove the despatches overboard, and we fired two 18-pounders at her to frighten them, and all our musketry. Two of our men jumped overboard and swam after the despatches, and

saved them and all the private letters,<sup>1</sup> though we were running at the rate of five knots. About this time we lowered the boat down and saved our two heroes, who were almost drowned. We took sixty-two people out of her and went into Bequier Bay, made a flag of truce, and sent all our prisoners away. Five sail have just hove in sight, and we are in chase of them; I hope they are a French squadron, that we may hammer the rust off their hogged backs and scrape their sides for painting; we have been cut out twice, but I hope to God we shall have a dusting match before long. This is the most barren place God ever created; it is nothing but sand, towers, and Turkish parapets, and very shoal water.

I was at Naples two days before we came here and saw Sir William Hamilton, who desires to be remembered to you. He was as kind to me as usual, and Lady Hamilton's kindness and civility to me is beyond description.

TO LORD AND LADY CATHCART

Majestic, off Malaga : 9th April, 1799.

I was at Gibraltar in March, and dined with Lord St. Vincent and General O'Hara, who desired me to give their compliments to you. I was at the Governor's ball, and, as partners were very scarce, I was obliged to dance with the parson's wife, who is an old lady of above sixty years of age, which diverted the Governor and Lord St. Vincent very much. I was very gallant, and handed her plenty of cakes and negus, which she drank like a fish. I danced two dances with a Mrs. Fyers, who said she

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that these are not the despatches which Nelson speaks of in his letter of 10th August as 'taken yesterday.'

knew you very well in New York, and asked after Mrs. Digby. She said you danced a very good minuet there, and asked me whether you had left it off. She desires to be remembered to you ; she has three handsome daughters.

I joined this ship the middle of March, and am very happy. I was sorry to quit a frigate. We dance reels and jigs, and sometimes affect to dance country-dances ; we can muster seven couples upon a pinch. I have met with the misfortune to break my sword in boarding a French polacca ship under the batteries at Velez Malaga. We sent our boats in armed and an 18-pound cannonade<sup>1</sup> in our launch ; after we got within pistol-shot of her, she fired at us, and the fort fired at us, but their shot went over us ; we fired the cannonade five times at them loaded with grape and canister, which killed and wounded several ; we immediately boarded and found a rock through her bottom ; we went up aloft, and cut her sails down, and in cutting the main sheet my sword flew in five pieces at the first blow. We saw several fellows behind rocks loading muskets. I immediately fired two pistols at him and he fell ; I fancied he was wounded, as we saw him climbing up the hill, his back bleeding. Pray send me out a good hanger ; let it be crooked, and a good guard for the hand ; and a pair of small pocket pistols, with stops to them. I have a pair of long screw barrel pistols that Sir William Hamilton gave me, but they are too large, and take too much time loading. I fired about six muskets and twenty pistols at the French rascals that fired at us from the rocks. The captain expects the ship to go home in autumn, and I hope to see you then. I

<sup>1</sup> Carronades seem to have been frequently called cannonades, probably from a misunderstanding of the name.

have made good progress in French, which I can speak pretty fluently, and in algebra.

TO LORD AND LADY CATHCART

Majestic, off Cadiz : 1st May, 1799.

Three days ago we were cruising off Malaga, and in the morning saw six sail of small crafts becalmed within pistol-shot of an old tower a little to the eastward of Malaga. We immediately hoisted out our boats. The first lieutenant, who was commodore, was in the barge; our fourth lieutenant and a midshipman were in the launch, which had an 18-pound cannonade in; a master's mate was in a six-oared yawl, and the captain was so good as to give me the command of the pinnace (which rows eight oars) and two marines and a coxswain—in all eleven people. We all took the launch in tow, and pulled after the vessels. When we got within gunshot of them we cast off the launch, who fired a shot at them, and pulled in for the enemy, two of which had got aground, and the people had jumped ashore. The yawl and barge attacked a lugger; and I, seeing them hauling one of the vessels then afloat in-shore, pulled directly for her, fired a volley of musketry at the people that were getting her ashore, who immediately left the warp and went behind the tower, where they kept up a heavy fire with their muskets. The soldiers from a sort of barracks kept firing swivels and musketry at us, but the launch kept cutting them up with grape and canister. When I had got aboard, and secured three prisoners, whom muskets had deterred from leaving the craft, I placed the marines abaft with orders to fire at any person they saw on the beach (which service they did effectually) while we made sail off. After we had got two off, the launch set fire to the two which were ashore,



and then pulled after one which was coming before the wind.

After I had got three-quarters of a mile from the shore, it fell calm, and I was drifting fast up to Malaga, from which six Spanish gunboats were coming to cut me off, which they would have done if the ship had not caught a light breeze and come to my assistance. I had three fires laid in the vessel (which was loaded with door-mats and bass rope) and the pinnace alongside, ready to set fire and evacuate her. While I was in this predicament, I saw a boat rowing from Malaga, which put me in a terrible funk. When she was a mile off we fired our muskets at her and loaded them again with two balls, being determined she should have their contents when she came near enough for us to do execution. When she came near to us she proved to be our cutter, which had been sent after the two vessels that had escaped us, but had been repulsed. In about half an hour after this the ship, to my great joy, took us in tow, and stood along the town of Malaga with us in tow, and the lugger and a vessel the ship had taken in the morning to windward. While we were abreast of the town we got becalmed and the gunboats fired at us, which we returned with our lower-deckers.

The launch and barge got aboard of the chase, which proved to be a large vessel loaded with brandy, lead, and steel filings ; but as it was calm, and five privateers and gunboats pulling to her assistance, they were obliged to burn her, which was effectually executed. The boats returned about four o'clock, and we took the three vessels in tow and made sail. In the night it came on a gale of wind, and you may guess I did not sleep much that night, being constantly obliged to shorten sail and heave out what mats were above the deck to pre-

vent her from being top-heavy. In the morning at daylight the first thing I saw was the vessel the ship had taken on her beam ends full of water, having sprung a leak in the night. The ship immediately lowered a boat down and took the people out of her, and, to my great joy, me and my people out of my vessel. The brig sunk, and we ransomed the other two for seven hundred cobs.<sup>1</sup>

I have not received the parcels or glasses mama was so good as to send me out ; and I think myself particularly unlucky, as several officers in the fleet receive parcels, letters, &c., safe by the Lisbon packets. I should like to lay hold of some shirts, as the two dozen I brought out are completely worn out. I was obliged to cut up four the other day to mend the rest, and I gave one away to a midshipman who lost all his clothes in the prize that sunk astern of us. I did not buy any at Gibraltar because they were so dear and I expected the supply from home.

Not having had an opportunity of sending my letter, I add that a frigate came into the fleet four days ago, upon which we weighed, and the signal was made to prepare for battle, and our signal was made to look-out. The next morning, as I was at the mast-head, I saw four sail in line of battle, and about an hour after twenty-nine sail to windward.<sup>2</sup> We got near enough to distinguish they were French, and their admiral had a flag at the main ; we continued to turn to windward, and the next morning saw the hull of two frigates and a ship of the line off deck. We lost sight of them in the night, but this morning had the pleasure to find they had not got into Cadiz, as they were steering

<sup>1</sup> A familiar name for dollars.

<sup>2</sup> 4th May ; the French fleet under Bruix.

for that harbour before they saw the force of our fleet, which consists of fourteen sail of the line. We are all clear for them, which makes it inconvenient for us, as our chests are made into a platform for the wounded. We are very anxious for the battle, and our only fear is they are gone up the Mediterranean. The captain has made me signal midshipman, which is the difficultest berth in the ship. I am obliged to be up at half-past three in the morning and to stay on deck all day, till half-past seven at night, and can only go down three times a day to my meals. But it is the most honourable, as all our credit depends on a prompt obedience of signals. I should like to fall in with the glasses you sent me out. Adieu! I hope in the next to give you an account of our action.

*TO LORD AND LADY CATHCART*

Majestic, off Mahon : 1st September, 1799.

I expect Charles will be able fairly to beat me in mathematics, &c., as I have had no opportunity to improve myself in those sciences; but, thank God, I can beat those land-jumping academicians at Portsmouth in working a day's work, double altitude, shifting tides, and making proper allowances for leeway, variation, currents, observations, &c. Besides, a young man who spends the three first years of his time at an academy never can gain a competent knowledge of seamanship; for when he leaves an academy, his head full of theory, self-conceit, &c., ignorant in the useful part of his profession—namely, seamanship, the art of making proper allowances, &c., which can be learnt only by practice—and enters on board a man-of-war, he is ashamed to ask the use of the various blocks, purchases, sails, &c., &c., and pretends to know better than anybody else; and by that means

becomes a laughing-stock of all his shipmates, and by his self-sufficiency remains a lubber for the rest of his life. In short, I have never seen one turn out a seaman, or an officer, or a real experienced navigator. Now, thanks to Captain Hope, I understand the practical part perfectly, and when I come home I mean to learn the theory, which I hope to understand in a short time, and shall have had the advantage of learning seamanship, and the art of navigating from one port to another, better than those people who can bring their reckonings at a school to agree within a mile, while we think ourselves very lucky to come in within ten miles. They know the drift of currents, leeway in gales, &c., sitting in a chimney-corner; while we, who have daily experience, are often out a quarter of a point, two miles, &c., in a day.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BROWELL TO LORD  
CATHCART<sup>1</sup>

Gosport : 2nd January, 1800.

My Lord,—I am glad it is in my power to comply with your wishes by entering your son on the *Princess Augusta's* book; but if he has not been on any books since he was paid off in the *Majestic*, it would be a pity to lose that time. If he is in town, and will call on Mr. Daysh, to give his name in, and should the time be wished, I will give directions for his being entered back, on his paying the man (who is an old seaman), from that time to the 31st ult., the day he was to be discharged; and have the honour to be your lordship's most obedient and very humble servant,

WM. BROWELL.

<sup>1</sup> Two years before this, Browell, being in command of the *Sanspareil*, had been crippled by an accident, and rendered unfit for active service. He died Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich Hospital in July, 1831.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

Cæsar, off Brest : Friday, 25th July, 1800.

I left Plymouth the day before yesterday in the Cæsar with Sir James Saumarez. He was excessively civil to me and made me live in the cabin with him ; he even pressed me to live with him till the Cambrian joined, but I declined his kind offer, and am going on board the Royal George with Lord St. Vincent, who I saw this morning. He says it will be better for me than a Weymouth cruise.

*LORD ST. VINCENT TO LORD CATHCART*

Royal George, before Brest : 30th July, 1800.

My Lord,—Mr. Cathcart having been disappointed in his expectations of meeting with the Cambrian here, I have placed him in the Triton, where he will see a great deal of service, and be exposed to some fire under Captain Gore, than whom there cannot be a better example, and I think your lordship will agree with me that the advanced post in the Bay of Brest is a better position than the Bay of Weymouth ; in this, perhaps, Lady Cathcart will differ. I beg your lordship will make my most respectful compliments to her ladyship, and that you will believe me to be very sincerely

Your humble servant,  
ST. VINCENT.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

Triton : 31st July, 1800.

I have the felicity to acquaint you that my hopes are all made good. Lord St. Vincent has made me

acting lieutenant<sup>1</sup> on board the Triton with Captain Gore. He has been exceedingly civil. I mess in the gun-room, and have a cabin in it, charge of a watch—in short, am the happiest creature living. My messmates are excessively pleasant young men, but you must lend me a little more money, as my outset will be expensive. I hope to stay in this ship and in this situation till my time is out. We are going on a cruise for three months as soon as the Alcmène and Naiad relieve us, and I hope we shall be lucky. Captain Gore is a friend of Captain Hope, and the ship is in exceeding good order. Pray send me word that you will lend me a little more as soon as possible. Lord St. Vincent sent me here. I dined with him the other day. Pray write immediately, as we shall be going to sea soon. In short, I am so happy and overjoyed that I do not know what to do with myself, and cannot sit still to write. I have been here three days performing my new functions. Sir James Saumarez suggested the idea to Lord St. Vincent of my being acting lieutenant.

TO CAPTAIN HOPE

Triton, off Brest : 7th (? illeg.) August, 1800.

Dear Sir,—Lord St. Vincent has had the goodness to send me on board the Triton, to do duty as a lieutenant. I mess in the gun-room, have charge of a watch, and have a very good cabin. I waited on Captain Legge on my arrival at Plymouth, and he advised me to wait the arrival of my chest, which I did ; and on its arrival joined the fleet with Sir James Saumarez in the Cæsar. Lord St. Vincent would not let me go to Weymouth (which

<sup>1</sup> He was, however, only rated as mate for time. See Introduction.

I am very glad of), but sent me to the Triton, where I hope to remain till you get a ship. . . . We are the commodore of the in-shore frigates, and are close in every day. The Naiad is to relieve us when she joins the fleet, and we are to have a cruise. The Alcène relieved the Nymph three days ago. She is just as you left her—black, and has the same top-gallant masts, I believe, that you made off Alexandria. She sails remarkably fast since she has been new coppered.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

Triton, off Brest : 22nd August, 1800.

The 12th I supped with Commodore Topsent on board the Republican frigate *Furieuse*, in Bertheaume Bay, having been sent in with a flag of truce, and it is my intention to give you as accurate an account of our expedition, reception, conversation, and their condition, situation, and expectations as I can. The first lieutenant and myself left the ship at about half-past two p.m. in an eight-oared cutter, lug-rigged with three masts, having the French jack at the fore (they not acknowledging the white flag), a pennant at the main, and a St. George's ensign at the mizen, and were abreast of the island<sup>1</sup> of Bertheaume standing for the Goulet, when the commodore of the ships in Bertheaume sent a gunboat to bring us to, and a *capitaine de frégate* to speak us. We immediately hauled up for them, gave our despatches and a box from Lord St. Vincent to Don Mazaredo to the *capitaine*, taking receipts. He ordered the gunboat to take us in tow, which she did and anchored. (She was a launch armed with four swivels and about fifty men and officers, so close that I am convinced our nine

<sup>1</sup> So in M.S. presumably for the 'castle.'

men with their stretchers would have taken her with ease.) We were kept astern of her for about an hour, when a French midshipman came in a boat to take us on board the commodore.

It is wonderful what subordination there is among their officers; the *aspirant* kept his hat off during his parley with the *enseigne de vaisseau*, addressing him with 'citoyen.' They manned the side for us, and whistled us in in style; the commodore was upon the quarter-deck to receive us, *en nous priant* to take some refreshment and stay in the cabin till the boat he had sent into Brest returned. This invitation I accepted for the first lieutenant and myself with all the *politesse* imaginable. All the lieutenants were summoned to spend the evening with us; a bottle of bad claret was produced, some good fresh bread and butter, a sausage, and some cheese. We all filled our glasses, the old commodore giving 'A Speedy Peace' for a toast, and hob-nobbed. After this we entered into conversation till nine o'clock, when supper was served up. They carefully avoided turning the conversation upon their fleets, but demanded our force. I told them the Triton carried  $\frac{1}{4}$ <sup>1</sup> 18-pounders on the main deck,  $\frac{6}{8}$  6-pounders on quarter-deck and forecastle, besides cannonades (our real force is 13 twelves, but we have a quaker which I converted into a gun, and 6-pounders), and that we should be happy to show them the ship. The Furieuse<sup>2</sup> mounts  $\frac{1}{4}$  24's, built at Cherbourg, and is a fine ship. . . .

About 10.30 the boat returned with La Touche's

<sup>1</sup> Sc. 14 on each side.

<sup>2</sup> This armament must have been experimental. When armed *en flûte*, she was captured by the Bonne Citoyenne on 6th July, 1809, but appears to have been then rated as an 18-pounder frigate, and was so rated in our service.



answer, which was, that out of the respect due to their allies, the Spaniards, he had received the box (which contained cigars); but that if we attempted to send a flag of truce on a bagatelle like that to any officer under his command, he would seize the boat. After this we wished them good-night and joined the ship. This is an outline of the mission; but there are many little particulars which, time says, *nunc perscribere longum est*.

I shall now briefly give you an idea of our advanced position, from which we were relieved two days ago. We were stationed between the Chéminée and Parquette, and used to stand within gunshot of Toulinguet Point every evening to reconnoitre. They frequently threw shells close to us from St. Mathew's, till we got marks of their range, which we found to be a mile and a half. At night our sole guidance was the light of St. Mathew's, which we were not to bring further to the northward than NE by N nor to the eastward than E by N, being a range of about three miles. We were obliged to tack every two hours; and if it came calm, with a flood tide, to anchor; if a westerly wind we had to anchor. You may guess what a harassing station that was for the captain and us all for a spell of thirteen weeks. We are now arrived at Plymouth, where we remain till Tuesday, after which we go on a roving cruise for four months as a reward. If you can contrive to send me my glasses I shall be much obliged to you; and write often, as most likely after this I shall not hear from you these four months. We are going off the Western Islands to take a galleon which is coming for the Triton. . . . I have been obliged to hurry the remainder of this, as I go ashore to-morrow at the dockyard at seven o'clock on duty, where I shall be all day. We nob's don't keep

watch in harbour, when the ship is moored, but leave it to the midshipmen.

TO CHARLES CATHCART

16th January, 1801.

How do you come on in regard of money? I can but just make ends meet, and if we do not take a good prize next cruise you will see me grinning through the bars in the King's Bench. It costs me fifteen pounds<sup>1</sup> a quarter for my mess, so that I have only twenty pounds per annum for my necessary clothes, &c. They will not give any pay but once in twelve months; then they only give one six months, so that literally I have the greatest difficulty in the world; but I have made about twenty pounds this last cruise, and if we had not had the devil's own luck should have made nine hundred. So you see, hit or miss, luck is all . . .

TO LADY CATHCART

Triton, Plymouth Sound: 18th January, 1801.

We left Torbay Wednesday night, and arrived here Thursday morning in perfect health. I am the happiest creature in the world; the captain is so pleasant, and my messmates the most gentlemanlike, best fellows I ever associated with. I was very much afraid I should have been obliged to have left this ship just when I had got settled and acquainted, but Lord St. Vincent told Captain Gore he would not let me quit her and would send Captain Hope three substitutes in my place. We shall be here three weeks at least, and by that means I shall hold a constant correspondence with

<sup>1</sup> Twenty crowns, *i.e.* 5*l.*, a month is stated (*Naval Chronicle*, xxxii. 237) to be the ward-room mess money in the flagship about the same date; but it included dinner wine—'half an undersized bottle of port,' and two glasses of sherry on public days.

you, but cannot with propriety ask to come to you, as the captain has permitted our second lieutenant to go to town to settle his business (his father being lately dead) and there would be no officers left to carry on the duty of the ship. Lord St. Vincent has given us the same cruise (which is the best in his gift), when I hope we shall be more successful. We have taken nothing in a five months' cruise but a recapture that will give me about twenty pound. We chased the<sup>1</sup> *L'Africaine*, French frigate, from Cayenne, a vessel of forty-four guns, 18-pounders, for two days and a night, were within gunshot and a half of her, all night at quarters, guns pointed, and in hopes when daylight came to have a rap at her, when a terrible gale of wind came on, and we carried away our studding-sail booms, split our fore topsail, and, notwithstanding our utmost exertions in repairing the sails, she gained so much on us that we lost sight of her in a heavy squall of wind and rain at 6 p.m. and saw her no more after a chase of nearly three hundred miles. Our ship sailed like a lady; she was in the wind's eye of us when we began the chase, and we got nearly up to her, when the wind favoured her, and she put before the wind, where, being light, she had the advantage. Our ship, just having left Lisbon as deep as a dung barge, could not be expected to sail before the wind. She is allowed to be one of the fastest sailing ships in the navy. What a cowardly brute he must have been to so decidedly run away from a six-and-thirty, with 12-pounders! If we could but have got alongside of her, we would have shown her a step to get her bread by, hammered the rust off her, and made her as bright as waxwork in a short time. My quarters are

<sup>1</sup> This was the usage of the day.

on the forecastle, where I command; have two 6-pounders and a 24-pound cannonade of a side, but more particularly the manœuvring of the ship to attend to. We have two shot in a gun always, and when close put a canister shot in for a wad. How pretty we should have looked with that ship in tow!—our first lieutenant her captain *pro tempore*, and me her first lieutenant *pro tempore*, English over French, standing in to Torbay. We were very low-spirited for some time after, and it is a tender subject yet. Some prisoners informed us it was the Africaine. But enough of this rhapsody.

I have not had a single rope-yarn from any of you since we left Plymouth last time, nor were there any for me at this place; and, as you may imagine, I am anxious to hear from you. Pray write by return of post, wind and weather permitting. I have not been ashore yet. Yesterday, I was rowing guard all day, boarding all vessels coming in. Lieutenants not keeping watch when the ship is moored, I have plenty of time, and, as the ship is going into harbour to refit, there is no duty for lieutenants in the dockyard, so I am completely happy—nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep and be merry, row guard, answer signals, &c. We are very anxious to get an answer from the admiralty to go into harbour, as we are very impatient to get to sea; indeed, I languish to get out again already, but hope to receive orders to detain Danes, Swedes, &c. Oh, what a glorious haul we shall have!

Lord St. Vincent asked me to a grand dinner and ball at Tor Abbey, the seat of Mr. Cary, where he had a room for me. I was obliged to refuse his invitation, having hurt my knee in a heavy gale on Sunday evening, but it is pretty well now. It does not hinder my doing my duty. I was very lucky; for as soon as the captain, his servant, and

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his trunk had got to the house, Lord St. Vincent clapped him on the shoulder and said, 'My dear Gore, an easterly wind is coming; go to sea, follow your orders (which are the pleasantest possible).' The captain came on board and we came here.

*TO CHARLES CATHCART*

Triton, Sound : 11th March, 1801.

I received your letter of the 24th yesterday evening, having just come in from a five weeks' cruise in Audierne Bay. A melancholy accident was the cause of our returning so soon. We chased a French cutter ashore in Trecoeuré Bay among the Penmarks, and laid our ship as close to the signal house as possible and opened a tremendous fire from our larboard guns, double-shotted, upon the cutter and signal-house. The tide drifting us out, we made sail, made a tack in-shore, and brought to to open our starboard guns. The first fire, the fourth gun burst and killed our second lieutenant, a gunner's mate, and wounded eighteen men, most of them dangerously. It stove the beam under it, and sprung seven quarter-deck beams, broke all the glass in the ship. The second lieutenant was one of the most religious, best young men I know. He had just dined with the captain, and said 'I will go and see the shots.' He had not been out two minutes when the gun burst and took off his head. Myself with all his messmates are in mourning for him and are going to attend his funeral, I believe to-morrow. It is a melancholy occasion, for we really all loved him as a brother.

*LORD CATHCART TO LADY CATHCART*

8th July, 1801.

I went yesterday with Bill to Lord St. Vincent, whom we saw an hour afterwards; and to fill up

that hour we took an excursion on the Thames, to his great delight. After that visit, in which Lord St. Vincent was very kind, we went to Sir W. Hamilton's together, and made a party to return there in the evening, which I excused myself from and remained at home, but sent Bill and George Murray, in order that Bill might take leave, and also meet Lord Nelson. . . . This day Bill is gone on horseback with George Murray to join his ship, and I think it probable they may get to sea next week, as they are to receive men from a ship that is lately returned from a foreign station.

TO LORD CATHCART

Medusa, off Boulogne : 28th July, 1801.

I am just up after the middle watch, in which our gun-brigs and a lugger ran the gauntlet past all the forts and attacked some gunboats coming from Calais to Boulogne for about half an hour, but, the lee tide making, were recalled ; and it having turned out a foggy morning, I fear these gunvessels have got into Boulogne. Captain Somerville<sup>1</sup> has been making a great fuss about invasion and occasioned considerable alarm ; but in Boulogne, with these vessels that got in, there are only thirty-one sail of small brigs and luggers, and a camp that appears to me to hold about eight hundred men at most. The enemy seem afraid of us, for they are constructing mortar batteries all along shore, from which they honoured us with some shot the first day we came here. We have about fourteen sail of brigs, two frigates, and a line-of-battle ship to block up this terrible armada ; however, it is an ill wind that blows nobody good, for although it lowers

<sup>1</sup> Philip Somerville, the senior commander.

our funds it may make him<sup>1</sup> a post captain. We have constant communication, being only twenty miles from the Downs, and see the South Foreland continually, so pray write often.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

Medusa : 7th August, 1801.

I have only time to inform you at present that we arrived at this anchorage last evening, and that I am, thank God, in perfect health. The Boulogne business was nothing at all, but turned out much more successful than I expected. I told the captain and admiral that nothing would be done, for there were only twenty-five vessels in the outer roads at quarter-mile distance and our shells could only sink them. They were laying in twelve feet water [at] high water, and at low water they were aground. The event was rather more successful than I expected, for after firing 750 shells we sank ten vessels, which were patched up at low water and towed in. I have made a plan of the whole business and written an account; but, being hurried and Lord Nelson's flag flying, I have not had time to finish it, but when done will transmit it. We are now going to Flushing, and if the enemy are not in more force there, the people are all fools to dream of an invasion. As to Boulogne, it is the last place in the world for a depôt, the harbour being dry at low water. I really fear our Government have bad information. I would not say so if I had any money to buy into the funds, though I would not tell a lame story for it. Lord Nelson has thanked the squadron in orders for zeal displayed in this business, and says he will make more use of it in a

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Captain Somerville. He was posted 29th April, 1802.

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closer combat the next opportunity in a stronger place ; so to it we go hammer and tongs.

TO LADY CATHCART

Medusa, coming into the Downs :  
Sunday evening [16th August, 1801].<sup>1</sup>

My dear Mother,—Fearing you should hear any reports of an affair that happened last evening, I take this opportunity to inform you that I am well. I thank God have escaped the enemy's fire. I shall write to my father by another opportunity directly, as this is just going off.

TO LORD CATHCART

Medusa : [16th August, 1801].

My dear Father,—I have only time now to inform you that I am well and, thank God, have escaped the enemy's fire. Having been obliged to keep two watches, owing to two lieutenants and the master and signal captain being wounded, occasions my brevity.

LORD CATHCART TO LADY CATHCART

Gloucester Place : Monday, 17th August, 1801, 1 p.m.

Joy, joy to you, my dearest Kate!<sup>2</sup> Be thankful and rejoice—at good news from Lord Nelson, who has had a sharp engagement. William is safe, was in the hottest of it, and is distinguished. I am interrupted by a letter from himself which is enclosed. But I have seen a paragraph in Lord Nelson's hand<sup>3</sup> in his praise for coolness, valour,

<sup>1</sup> This letter is dated 'Monday evening ;' but the disastrous attack on the Boulogne flotilla was on the night of 15–16th, and 'coming into the Downs' corrects the error. The Medusa anchored in the Downs on the evening of the 16th. (See Nicolas, *Nelson Dispatches*, iv. 469.)

<sup>2</sup> A pet family name. Her baptismal name was Elizabeth.

<sup>3</sup> The passage in a letter to Lord St. Vincent is : 'Young Cathcart behaved most exceedingly well ; he saved Parker from



and judgment. Two of Lord Nelson's clever and favourite officers were wounded, and Bill saved one of them from falling into the enemy's hands. I shall hear more in the course of the day of the particulars, but what I read in the morning was enough for the moment. The particulars you will read, but I hope this will be put into your hand before any report of the engagement can reach you. . . .

I had been out this morning early to see some of the young horses worked and was sitting with the newspaper in my hand when Lady H[amilton]'s servant brought me a note from her, which I will send if in my haste I have not destroyed it; but do not show it or talk of it. She was kind to me, and the world are ill-natured and injurious about her correspondence. She begged me not to quote her. I flew to my stable, jumped upon a horse, and in two minutes was with her. She has a sister of Lord Nelson, or very near relation, on a visit in the house with her. She read me parts of her letters; one before the action, in which this extraordinary man speaks of his intention as a boy would of going on a party of pleasure, and says his fingers itch to be at them. In the last, he says everything you could wish of William. I cannot quote the words, but I think he says, talking of

either being killed or a prisoner, for every man in Parker's flat boat being killed or wounded, and his boat drifted from the brig alongside a flat full of men.' This was based on Parker's official report: 'I feel myself at a loss for words to do justice to . . . the Hon. Mr. Cathcart, who commanded the Medusa's cutter and sustained the attack with the greatest intrepidity, until the desperate situation I was left in obliged me to call him to the assistance of the sufferers in my boat. . . . The flat boat in which I was, being alongside, and as there was not an officer or man left to govern her, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy had not Mr. Cathcart taken her in tow and carried her off' (Nicolas, iv. 465-6).

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officers, that all did well, but none more distinguished than young Cathcart; and mentions the other circumstance. I do not, however, yet know that the affair is distinguished by more trophies than a fresh proof of British courage, for I believe their vile boats were chained in shoal water to each other and to the shore, so that, though many were taken, they could not, I fear, be moved, but only sunk in shoal water.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

H.M. ship *Medusa*, Downs : 20th August, 1801.

We have been here these three days and are getting men as fast as possible to replace our loss. I have the pleasure to inform you that Captain Parker is so much better that there is not the least fear of an amputation. Langford is much recovered. Poor Pelly has two balls through his shoulder-blade and collar-bone, which are both fractured; consequently a bad wound. He went to town in the *Trinity* yacht with Maitland, whose is only a flesh wound. His father lives at Upton in Essex. Lord Nelson has given out in orders that he will personally lead us to an attack on the enemy's flotilla that cannot fail of success. I hope he will. I shall ask to come up some time at the end of this week or beginning of next to pass.

*SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON TO LORD CATHCART*

Three Kings, Deal : 27th August, 1801.

My dear Lord,—Lord Nelson is just come on shore, having left the whole coast of France and Flanders opposite to us lined with part of his squadron—at least 90 sail—so that the enemy cannot stir a boat without fear. His lordship did not find that he could with prudence do more at present. The enemy seem to have sufficient employment in

raising batteries and putting themselves in a state of defence, instead of thinking of invading our coast. Lord Nelson really told me that Cathcart was a true seaman and a brave officer, and as such his lordship has given him a letter for Sir Andrew Hamond,<sup>1</sup> recommending it to him to expedite Cathcart's business as soon as possible, being fully deserving of it. It is a great comfort to Lord Nelson to have us here, so that we shall stay a few days, and Lady Hamilton will get some sea-bathing, that always agrees with her, as we have a bathing-machine within a mile of Deal. I can assure your lordship that I was quite edified with what you showed me on Sunday; a finer set of men and horses I never saw, nor such order and cleanliness in the quarters. I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, with sincere affection, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

WM. HAMILTON.

P.S.—Emma desires her kind love to you.

*CAPTAIN GORE TO LORD CATHCART*

Medusa, in the Downs: August 28, 1801.

After having paid the last sad duties to my departed friends, and although I am in great agitation and distress, yet I must not forget the duties to the fortunate survivors of our late unsuccessful attack upon the enemy's flotilla, in which your lordship's son, Mr. Cathcart, most eminently distinguished himself. His intrepid courage and zealous activity is the theme of every person's praise. He was chosen by Captain Parker to be his second, which office he ably fulfilled; for though Captain Parker, all the officers and men in his boat, except four, were killed or wounded at the first onset, and

<sup>1</sup> Comptroller of the Navy.

Mr. Cathcart's boat also suffered severely, yet, notwithstanding the heavy fire of musketry which was kept up on him, he undauntedly pushed up alongside the enemy's vessel, took Captain Parker's boat in tow, and brought her, with her unfortunate crew, clear of the fire, and when he found himself unsupported brought them on board. Captain Parker assures me the readiness and intrepidity of his conduct beggars all description, and I offer my congratulations to your lordship and Lady Cathcart, that it should have pleased the Great Dispenser of us all to save such a son to be a shining ornament to our profession.

I have written to request Lord St. Vincent will allow the vacancy, occasioned by Lieutenant Pelly's severe and, I fear, fatal wound, to be kept open for Mr. Cathcart, whose time will soon be completed, and I shall send him to town to be qualified for his commission the moment it is. My own loss, both privately and publicly, is distressingly severe; my ship's crew may be replaced, but the loss of two amiable young men, one a near relation, and such an officer as Lieutenant Pelly is not to be replaced.

Accept my best respects to Lady Cathcart and family, and believe me at all times your lordship's most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN GORE.

*LORD CATHCART TO LADY CATHCART*

Gloucester Place : Friday, 28th August, 1801.

Joy, joy, my dearest Kate! Glad tidings. Bill is arrived; he is with me in perfect health, improved looks, fatter than usual, a high, fresh, healthy colour, and good condition. He arrived about eight this morning. I was out with my regiment, and, my field officers being all on a general court-martial, I could not go to him, but sent a horse for him to

come to me. He is refreshed and trimmed, and I am going away with him in the coach to attend him to Lord St. Vincent, Sir A. S. Hamond, &c., for whom he has letters from Lord Nelson. I had prepared all rough work for him yesterday. We are also to go to see his wounded friend Pelly at Guy's Hospital. . . .

It rains letters of congratulation on me from all parts. I have a very kind letter from Sir William Hamilton. Lord Nelson shifts his flag to the Amazon. The Medusa will belong to him, but probably more stationary and towards the left of his line of defence.

*LORD CATHCART TO LADY CATHCART*

Gloucester Place : August 29, 1801.

. . . Thursday will, I think, be the earliest day that I can get either to Upway or Mintern to meet you, on account of Bill's passing. I set out with him and Frederick, as soon as he was dressed and had his hair cut, yesterday, in the coach ; but had not gone far before we met my brother kindly come up to spend the day with me. . . . My brother got into the coach with us and we went to the Navy Board, where we found a Mr. Lawson, who had been originally employed by Mr. Trotter, and who had volunteered getting everything ready ; we also went to Sir Andrew Hamond, to whom Bill brought a letter from Lord Nelson couched in the strongest and handsomest terms in his favour. Sir A. H. was very civil and talked much of you, and William is put down to be the first examined next Wednesday. Also everything civil said about it being matter of form in regard to him. We then went to Lord St. Vincent, to whom Lord Nelson has also wrote by William, and who was as kind and affectionate to him, and as pleasant to

him, as we could possibly wish, and repeated his formal order to him to come to him immediately after passing, and he should have his commission in the very way he wished it. I have got the extract from the parish register, and he is now with Messrs. Lawson and Daysh adjusting everything. But by some neglect we have let Captain Hope sail without having the certificates of his good conduct in the *Romulus*, *Alcmène*, and *Majestic*. I wrote to Commissioner Hope about it, who says that such omissions often occasion delay, affidavits, and a deal of trouble ; but that he would write to the examining commissioner, state the case, and offer his testimonial that he knew his brother's sentiments and intention. Therefore I am confident this will be no hitch.

From Lord St. Vincent we drove away to Guy's Hospital. Mr. Harrison, a man of large property, is treasurer to this institution, and is married to Pelly's sister, and resides in an adjoining building belonging to the hospital, and very spacious, in which Pelly is lodged, having been conveyed with the other wounded officers to London Bridge by water. He was well enough to see us, and we found his sister reading to him. I never saw a patient so comfortably situated, and with his good temper and placid disposition, together with skilful and tender management, he has scarce had any fever, and then had none, though the wound has already, at different times, discharged several large pieces of bone and a great piece of blue cloth, and there are more bones to come out. We learned there that the master is recovering very fast of his wounds, as is Maitland, whose wound is in the neck, but aggravated by rheumatism. William helped Captain Parker another way besides towing him, for he applied a handkerchief or bandage twisted with a

stick to stop the blood. It really seems, from what Pelly said, miraculous how Bill or any of his people could escape, as they went close to the mole covered with troops, and between two brigs full of troops, who were pouring their musketry down upon these boats. Bill had placed his boat athwart the bow of the commodore, so that the tide should keep her there, and boarded her in that situation ; but he and his people were all knocked down in their first attempt by the explosion of a cannonade, the contents of which went close over their heads. He cut the commodore's cable, but she appeared to be aground. In short, he says nothing of himself, except some things he saw. My brother dined with us. Bill was very hungry, but after dinner fell fast asleep—having been up two nights—in the act of cracking a nut ; and, as he could not waken up, we got him to go to bed, when he slept eleven or twelve hours very sound and is quite well to-day.

*LORD CATHCART TO LADY CATHCART*

Gloucester Place : 1st September, 1801.

. . . Bill passes to-morrow ; all is ready ; and he is pledged to Lord Nelson, to Captain Gore, and to the other officers to be with them Friday or Saturday. But I learned yesterday from Reece that he has had some severe bruises, which he never mentioned to anybody, by his fall from the French commodore's bowsprit into his boat, into which he and all his people were thrown by the explosion of a large gun so close to them that the blood continued to stream out of one of the men's ears even after he was carried back to the Medusa. Bill fell with his back on one of the thwarts, or rowers' benches, of his boat and the back of his head on the next, and was stunned for a minute ; all this before

his most heroic deliverance of the other boat ; and he never mentioned this hurt to anybody. But Reece observed it and questioned his servant. . . . Yesterday I persuaded him to take some medicine, and have sent for Chilvers to make a survey of his timbers and stern-post—which expression has induced him to submit. Now, though he is really quite well in health, I think on this plea I may detain him till next week. But I think it would not be at all right to send him down to you as he wishes, and would in that case pass three nights on the road.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

H.M. ship *Medusa*, under Dungeness :  
22nd September, 1801.

We are here in the same state and condition we were in when I last wrote to you ; nothing new having occurred except the arrival of the Boulogne and Dieppe squadrons on the appearance of a northerly and westerly wind, which at present blows very strong. Lord Nelson is, I believe, still at Deal, and if he is wise he will stay there during the equinoxes, which, I believe, are now set in. He talks of sailing directly Sir William goes to town. I hope and trust he will not, as his so acting will give rise to a good deal of newspaper chit-chat, which to me will be very unpleasant. Captain Gore yesterday evening received a letter from Lord Nelson, who, speaking of Captain Parker, says : ' Poor Parker has been for these some days bordering on the brink of Eternity ; I now and again have a distant hope that he may survive.' His father is on board the *Amazon*. Langford is much better.

The captain has at length succeeded in getting the surgeon superseded ; a notification from the Sick and Hurt Board to that effect arrived this



morning. It required a great deal of trouble and interest to get this done, as no particular charge could be brought against him. He will now be provided with another ship, so it will be no great loss to him.

*CAPTAIN GORE TO LORD CATHCART*

Medusa, in the Downs : 4th November, 1801.

As I at all times feel much interested for Mr. Cathcart's welfare, and as I know from experience the very great difficulty there is to obtain promotion in times of profound peace, which will be particularly increased in this from the extent of our navy and the rigid system of economy to be adopted in every department, I presume to offer my humble opinion to your lordship to endeavour to obtain another step for him ere the great machine is finally wound up. There must be an extensive promotion, and he has as good, nay, better, claim than many who I have no doubt will be promoted ; and as a step now will be of incalculable advantage to him, I earnestly recommend your lordship to exert your well-established influence to effect it.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

H.M. ship Medusa : 5th November, 1801.

As we have had a continual hurricane, our intercourse with the shore is extremely doubtful, consequently we can neither send nor receive letters regularly, and are completely at the mercy of the elements. I received yours of the 1st on the 4th. On the 3rd the Alkmaar lost a boat and three men, and one was with great difficulty recalled to life by resuscitation.

You ask me how and where I should like to serve. There are in the service many fine brigs,

&c., commanded by lieutenants ; if you could procure me the command of one of them it would be the thing on earth I most covet and desire, and I should then have a more active life than the one I lead as junior lieutenant of a ship of this kind, which is as easy a berth as there can be, and, though pleasant enough in war, must be very monotonous and tiresome in peace. Indeed, it would be the greatest favour you could do for me, as by having her, and her people, in extremely good order, I might be able to gain the approbation of some admiral or commanding officer, who would recommend me to the admiralty. There is *L'Anacréon* or some brig like her, commanded by lieutenants, that would be very eligible. This is the only way I can think of that I have the least chance of distinguishing myself in ; I may labour for ever as a junior lieutenant without doing anything for myself. As to station, the Channel I should certainly give the preference to at present, but if I had a command, any would be indifferent to me. In my present situation certainly the Channel. But in this, as every other view I may form, I will submit myself entirely to your better judgment, and with the greatest pleasure conform to any plan you may strike out for my future conduct and distinction, though, as you have had the kindness to ask my opinion, the above is certainly what I wish. At all events, I should like to be constantly employed.

TO LORD CATHCART

Medusa, Spithead : 31st December, 1801.

I shall have the pleasure of seeing you Friday evening or Saturday morning. Captain Gore has given me leave till Monday. But as the admiralty have expressly forbid it, I have only leave to go on shore from him in form, but he has privately

given me leave to go to town. The admiralty have ordered the admiral here not to transmit any letters for leave, or being superseded, from any officer, and they only can give public leave ; *ergo*, I must not show myself to any of their board.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

H.M. ship *Medusa*, Spithead : 1st January, 1802.

Since Captain Gore gave me leave, an order was given out forbidding any officer whatever to sleep out of his ship ; consequently Captain Gore told me he wished me to stay, as my going might get him and myself into a serious scrape. There seems to be good reason for this order, as the Bantry Bay fleet are arrived and a great many courts-martial will take place on the ringleaders of the late mutiny, which may require all our exertions.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

Sunday, 10th January, 1802.

The court-martial commenced on fifteen of the mutineers Wednesday last. The prosecution closed on Friday ; on Saturday, the defences of three of them were read and their evidences examined. The court have ordered five more to be arrested, who, with the two on board the *Namur*, will most probably be tried together. On Friday I was sent with a party of marines and the barge to attend the execution of the marine of the *Acasta*, who, had it not been for this late mutiny, would most probably not have suffered. It has had a wonderful effect on the prisoners. I attended the court-martial two of the days. It will be impossible for me to get away till the sentence has been carried into execution, and the destined squadron sailed, to which Captain Digby in the *Resistance* is annexed.

## TO LORD CATHCART

H.M. ship *Medusa* : 14th January, 1802.

As I expected, sentence of death was passed on thirteen of the prisoners—one was sentenced to two hundred lashes—on Tuesday at about 2 p.m. The sentence was transmitted to the admiralty that evening, and this morning a court-martial commenced on the two [who] were in the *Namur*, and four who were apprehended by the court, in consequence of the evidence being strong enough against them to convict them.

A melancholy accident happened on board the *Resistance*, Captain Digby. The second lieutenant, by name Lutwidge, was coming off in one of the ship's boats, the coxswain of which was drunk, and, I suppose, impertinent. Lutwidge took up the tiller, and beat him so severely with it on the head that he fractured the man's skull in the most horrid manner, who, after languishing about an hour, died. The lieutenant is carried to Winchester jail and Captain Digby subpœnaed, which will prevent his going to the West Indies in the *Resistance*. It is said that the surgeon (of course, with the captain's consent), to save his messmate, asserted that the man died in consequence of suffocation from liquor. The man was buried and afterwards dug up; the coroner's inquest sat upon him, and brought in wilful murder.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cathcart tells the story from common report. The *Resistance* was lying at Spithead, fitting out for the West Indies, and Lutwidge, being on shore with the launch, was sent off by Captain Digby with a note to the first lieutenant. Many of his men were drunk and the boat's crew was got together with difficulty; one was left on shore, and one, Fagan, was so drunk that he could not manage his oar. Lutwidge ordered another man to take it, but Fagan, obstinately drunk, refused to give it up. Lutwidge, taking the tiller in his hand, went forward and gave Fagan a tap on

A seaman belonging to the Minerva's barge was arrested by one of the King's evidence (on shore for the purpose), and proved to be one of the mutineers of the Hermione. The evidence met him in the street and said, 'Is not your name Jack So-and-so?' He said 'No.' 'Yes, but it was in the Hermione.' Upon which the man owned it was and said, 'I'll go with you; I know I must be hanged.' He is now in confinement and will be tried as soon as the Téméraire's affair is settled. This is all the news I have to tell you, except that I am going to dine with Sir Edward Hamilton<sup>1</sup> to-day at four, on board the Trent. Captain Gore and Captain Drummond desire their best compliments to you.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

H.M. ship Medusa : 24th January [1802].<sup>2</sup>

We yesterday received orders to cruise between Dunnose and Portland for smugglers, and Weymouth of course will become our head-quarters. We are to sail on Wednesday. This expedition will make it impossible for me to have the pleasure of running up for a few days. We were all agreeably

the head. The man fell into the bottom of the boat and lay there. It took them three hours to get off to the ship; Lutwidge went up to deliver the letter, and the boat was being cleared, when it was reported to the officer of the watch that there was a man in her helplessly drunk. He was hoisted on board and died the next day. The assistant-surgeon and the surgeon both reported that he had died of drink apoplexy; but a report having been got up on shore, the surgeon of Haslar was directed to make a more exact examination, and discovered that a small piece of the bone had been driven in on the brain. On March 13, 1802, Lutwidge was tried for murder, but was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 100*l*. (*Naval Chronicle*, vii. 251.)

<sup>1</sup> Knighted for his gallant recovery of the Hermione on 25th October, 1799.

<sup>2</sup> MS. has 1801.

surprised yesterday by seeing Pelly, who is come down to spend a week with us. He is in very great spirits and looks as well as ever I saw him, but cannot make use of his arm. He always wears a glove on his left hand, as the skin is half off. He drove down here in his gig in two days. His wounds are not healed up yet, and he dresses them every morning himself with all the coolness imaginable.

A very unpleasant event has taken place here. Sir Edward Hamilton was tried and broke on Friday.<sup>1</sup> The gunner (who is a sad drunken man) offended him, and he tied him up by his thumbs in the rigging. The man tried him for tyranny and oppression, and of course broke him. If Sir Edward had tried the gunner, he would have broke him.

TO LORD CATHCART

H.M. ship *Medusa*, St. Helens : 29th January, 1802.

We got forty more men yesterday, which makes us complete, and I have now the pleasure to boast of belonging to the smartest and handsomest frigate at Spithead. The *Trent* is a perfect model of perfection ; I think I never in my life saw a frigate in half the order she is—her decks like the flooring of a palace, and the people so clean, smart, and regular. They gave Sir Edward twelve cheers upon his leaving her, of their own accord, and expressed the greatest regret. All the officers of his ship (with whom he dined on board after being

<sup>1</sup> 22nd January. In cutting out the *Hermione* he had had the stock of a musket broken over his head. It seems highly probable that the blow to some extent affected his mind—if only his temper. In the following June he was reinstated ; commanded the royal yacht from 1806 to 1819, and died an admiral in 1851.

broke) lament him exceedingly. Sir Edward might have broke the gunner two or three times if he had chosen it.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

H.M. ship *Medusa*, Valetta Harbour : 28th April, 1802.

I am quite well and in as good spirits as is possible in this tiresomely dull place. We have now literally nothing to do, having painted and decorated the ship most beautifully. Boatfuls of soldier officers row round her, admiring her, and say she is the handsomest vessel they ever saw. Stuart's ship, the *Termagant*, is a most beautiful vessel and in very high order. The acting captain he superseded being a very clever man, her head, which is a *Termagant*, is painted in colours with a bloody nose and a real broomstick in her hand, in the attitude of making a blow. She has on her bows half a man on one side and half a woman on the other fighting.

We are all very anxious to hear of the signing of the definitive treaty and the subsequent arrangements, and are in daily expectations of a vessel from England.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

H.M. ship *Medusa*, Naples Bay : 30th June, 1802.

I was made the happiest of mortals on the 18th of this month at Palermo, where we had gone to convoy the king, by receiving my commission as commander, dated 14th April. If my joy on the occasion was capable of augmentation, it would have been to have obtained the command of a vessel, but I sincerely hope you will be able to get me one on my arrival, which will be by the first vessel that goes home. I would have come home overland, which I could have done for 50*l.*, with the commissary, who is good enough to take charge of

this letter ; but I thought it was more seamanlike to come by water, and I should have been sorry to have lost the opportunity of making a bow to the Duke of Kent at Gibraltar. At all events, I shall be at home the beginning of August, and I hope to find that all the good ship sloops are not disposed of previous to my arrival. Pray have the goodness to have a roast beef coat made for me against my arrival, to the same measure as the last. I have grown as thin as a rat, but hope to regain my good looks before my arrival ; I now have nothing to do but amuse myself, and live entirely with Captain Gore.

The king made his entry on the 27th, and I have been at court and about him with the other captains ever since. I dined with him as captain at Palermo ; attended him ashore when he landed at Naples. The people here treat us with almost as much attention as the king, greeting us with the appellation of ' Bravi Inglesi.' The king at dinner was very gracious ; he stood up and drank, ' Your good health, gentlemen, and all your brave nation.' Captain Gore dined with him as commodore the day of his arrival, and was treated with the most marked civility.

TO LORD CATHCART

Renard.<sup>1</sup>

. . . Now I will give you some account of my wife—*i.e.* my ship. I believe I told you that I had restowed the ballast. Well, I have taken four tons out of the entrance and run of the ship, put it into the main-hold, put two wedges between every pig and made two cable tiers in hold for the cables (which were formerly stowed in the 'tween decks

<sup>1</sup> Not dated ; about 17th November.



and left no room for the people to live in), and have contrived to stow in the same space, reduced by the width of the tiers, six more tons of water in the hold than ever she did without the cables being there ; if it was not for them I should stow six more. She formerly used to stow eighteen tons below and three on deck, which made twenty-one ; now, in less space, I stow twenty-four under hatches, but to do that I have got every different sized cask that ever was made except leaguers.<sup>1</sup> My cabin will be painted on Tuesday, and I shall live on board the end of the week or beginning of next. I have persuaded the yard to repair my ship's head by knocking off his arms in the night and stowing them away, and have persuaded the carver to make this alteration. He is to be smacking his whip with the right arm, and holding up a fox by the scruff of the neck in his left. The arms are to be made to screw on and off ; so in a gale of wind I intend unscrewing the gentleman's arms. I have contrived to borrow yesterday, from different ships, eight carpenters, and am building sham quarter-galleries. She will be beautiful beyond description in a little time. I get men very fast, and am only twenty-five short ; but do not boast of this, as if the admiralty send me to sea, which they will do if they find out I have so many, before I am fitted, I shall never have such an opportunity to fit again. The way I do is this. We send up a weekly account, a copy of which I will send you in my next, every Thursday. The admiralty get this on Saturday. Now, when I enter men, I desire them to go ashore and come when their money is spent, never, till then, putting

<sup>1</sup> The leaguer was a long cask holding 159 imperial gallons. 'Before the invention of water tanks, leaguers composed the whole ground tier of casks in men-of-war' (Smyth, *Sailor's Word-Book*).

their names on the books, but making them leave their clothes on board, as by that means I ensure their returning ; they go on shore and tell the rest that the captain is a bloody good fellow, lets them go on shore when they please, and that gets numbers off, out of which I pick the best, not entering any but thorough seamen. Now the ships that do not do this have their people run away, and, being afraid of coming back when their money is gone, stay away ; whereas my fellows, having no money, can't better themselves, and I have not yet lost one by desertion. They have most spent their money now, and are coming on board every day, so that I shall return them on next Thursday, but gain time till then. The people call my boat on shore the Fox and Goose, and I really believe it helps me to men.

TO LORD CATHCART

Renard, Plymouth Dock : Sunday, 24th November, 1802.

Friday morning I thought we could not possibly go to sea under a fortnight, not having the topsails rigged ; sails, guns, stores, provisions on shore, boats repairing, &c. However, receiving orders that day to proceed immediately to Waterford, there open a rendezvous, appoint and allow a lieutenant 3*s.* 6*d.* per day extra to command, and two mids 2*s.* per day, and myself to be their commodore and superintend the whole, not only to man myself, but to procure men for the fleet ; thinking it of consequence, I turned to with a will, and reported myself ready for sea this morning. I am now twenty-five working men short of complement. We worked from 9 (when I received the orders) a.m. on Friday till 10 p.m., reeving, setting up rigging, &c. On Saturday, got guns in on one side, provisions on the other ; got the sails and all stores off

from the dockyard, launched the boats half-painted ; in short, completed the ship for four months. To-day I bent sails, hoisted in boats, &c., and am now ready for sailing to-morrow, but am afraid the wind will shift from SE, where it is at present, to SW, and, should that take place, I cannot sail. I am not fitted as I could wish, and everything is, as you may suppose, in confusion ; however, as I shall lay there the winter, I shall put everything to rights there. My sides are not scraped, but I carry paint, &c., round with me.

I am delighted with the prospect of this trip, as I shall be completely out of the reach of despatches to West Indies, the Mediterranean, &c. ; and in the event of a war, which I most fervently pray for, shall be ready to pop to sea. Waterford is an admirable harbour, nearly land-locked. The reason I did not complete my provisions before was that my new purser has not yet joined, and if I had completed I should have had to get up all the provisions again to have them surveyed, previous to his taking charge ; however, the service requiring it, I purchased two quarters of coals and thirty-six pound of candles, enough to carry the ship round, and wrote a letter to the admiral requesting to know how to act, which is forwarded to the admiralty, and will get him reprimanded for not joining. I have had the remains surveyed and delivered into the hands of my clerk. Twenty-five out of a hundred, which, including officers and boys, is the peace complement of sloops of all denominations, is a serious difference. Our war complement in the *Renard*, being very large, is 127 : twenty-seven working hands are taken off at peace, which reduces the total complement to 100 men, out of which we have twenty-four officers and boys and fifteen marines,

so that we are twenty-five seamen short. However, we will get her round easily enough, for what men I have are prime seamen, as you may imagine, from the work we got through so quick. I have not a man under 5 feet 6 inches, all regular tried seamen, and none above thirty-five. I never saw men work so well. I have not, since I commanded the ship, had occasion to find fault with a man but once, and that was the purser's steward, who I punished severely for disobedience of orders and drunkenness, and have since turned out of the ship. I never before met so good a set of men. I punished the steward for disobedience of orders, and on his protesting that he got drunk on his allowance, which is half a pint of spirits mixed with a pint and a half of water—*i.e.*, three-water grog—increased it to half a gallon of grog by adding two pints extra water, so that he has now three and a half pints water to half a pint of spirits, and I have not since found him drunk. My cabin is completed, but the gun-room not painted. The ship herself is beautiful, and I have humbugged the yard out of a new arm for my head, which has a fox in it. Your account of her being sharp is very true, but, without prejudice, she is very different from most French vessels of that description, being much fuller in the run, very long and broad, and, from the character the officers give of her, is an excellent sea-boat. She certainly has the same objection with all flush-decked vessels, who, from the depth of their waists, having no quarter-deck or fore-castle, are more apt to fill when struck by a sea than frigate-built ships, and I should not much admire being taken aback with the mainsail set in her, or, indeed, any vessel of the sort; but from what I can see of her build, I would not change her on any account. She is long-floored, clean

entrance and tail, breadth well forward, sits like a duck on the water, 108 feet long by 28 feet 6 inches wide, which is immense bearings. She is a beautiful ship. How she will answer I, not having tried her, cannot pretend to say ; however, I am convinced she will sail like the wind. You shall in my next, from Waterford, have a detail. However, I am completely tired, having been on board, without eating, from 9 a.m. till 7 p.m., and have now, at 9, just finished my dinner, which consisted of a boiled fowl, potatoes, beef-steaks, oyster sauce, and I can assure you that I picked the bones. You shall have in my next (which I shall compose at sea) a full account of all money transactions, &c. At present you must excuse me, as I am so sleepy ; the pen is now dropping out of my hand.

The wind rattles against my windows from the SW, which is foul, and if it does not shift shall not sail to-morrow, and will write certainly. My officers have exerted themselves uncommonly, and deserve the greatest credit ; they are a very fine set.

*TO LORD AND LADY CATHCART.*

Le Renard, at single anchor,  
King's Channel, entrance of Waterford River :  
4th December, 1802.

[After an account of a gale on the way from Plymouth to Waterford, during which he found that 'the master was a perfect idiot, and could not work a day's work,' he goes on :]

The gale lasted two days, and continued so long that, instead of making Dungarvan, which I intended, I made Cape Clear. The next morning the wind shifted to WSW, the ship towards the evening going thirteen knots, and, the officers not allowing sufficient distance, we outran the reckoning. I intended hauling the wind (there being too much to

lay to, and it not being safe to keep one of our build dead in the water in a gale, for fear, should a sea strike her or a sudden squall, she should not wear), and when she was twenty-five miles from the light, knowing that if I got to the eastward I should not be able to beat back ; and just after I had done it we made the Hook, which, from its description, I thought nearer than it really was, the wind shifted to SSW, which is a dead wind, and makes a lee shore. I weighed the chances for and against us, and the great responsibility of having so many men's lives depending upon a single move, and, knowing that a false one would prove fatal, felt an amazing burden on my shoulders, as it entirely depended upon me, who had nobody to consult with, the master being a fool, and repeating my words as an opinion of his own when I said, 'Oh, we shall weather them,' 'Oh yes, sir.' 'No, we shall not,' 'Oh no, sir.

Seeing the necessity of a prompt decision, and being fully convinced from the weakness of our crew and the slackness of the rigging, it being new, that we could not carry sufficient sail, and seeing the light clearly, I passed the word for anybody that had been in to come aft. A young sailor, a passenger, said he had been there eleven years ago, and served his time out of Waterford, and knew the place pretty well. I instantly up helm, depending more upon a good look-out than his pilotage, and in we ran. When we were close to a point, 'Hard a-starboard ;' close to another, 'Hard a-port ;' and, thanks to the very amazing celerity with which the ship answers her helm, got her in in safety. I assure [you] I was frightened next morning when I found what dangers we had passed. Two days after I started her, and am now on my way to Waterford town, which is about twenty-one miles up the river.

She is the second man-of-war that ever was up there. I hope to get up that far to-morrow. The passage is only the ship's length broad. Yesterday I rowed her up with sweeps ten miles, to the great astonishment of the natives, who ran up the river's banks after us ; and all the ladies from the gentlemen's houses came down to look at us. Indeed, it was a beautiful sight. She had her staysails up in a calm, topsails furled, yards hoisted to the mast-heads, and top-gallant sails and royals set above to catch any wind that might come over the land ; I standing up abaft, *conspectu publico*, first lieutenant on one side, pilot on the other ; three boats ahead towing, and sixteen sweeps pulling the ship along to beat of drum ; that is, putting all the oars in the water when the drum beat. I cannot say we made so good a day's work to-day, having been on shore hard and fast three times, owing to sudden puffs of wind, but got off without the least damage.

As I am the only naval hero that has been up here, you can't think how the mob follow me. When I land in my boat in style at the town, they say : 'That's the sea captain, sure,' and cheer, and make such a piece of work. I have ten dozen invitations already. Two of my mids were on shore at the rendezvous, and an old lady and her daughters called to them, asked what ship it was, who was the captain, whether he meant to go to the play and the ball, &c. ; in short, you do not know what a great man they make me here. They expected the ship up to-day, and the esplanade was lined with people. We shall lay exactly opposite the town, within a stone's throw of the esplanade, and I intend on the Queen's birthday to dress the ship, fire a salute, rockets, &c., and give a dinner, ball, and supper. You have no idea how I admire the ship ; she is a perfect angel ; tacks quicker than I can work her,

and is as easy in a gale as a dish. If she had not those properties I could not have exhibited to the natives. It is the most romantic river in the world, about the width of the Thames at Piper's, and to see a beautiful ship rowed like a boat is a fine sight. I suppose no bashaw ever had more pride or put himself in a more stately attitude than I do when standing upon the poop, *in conspectu*, issuing my orders with a trumpet, and being only answered by a pipe, making a most wonderful, puissant eye-trap to the gazing multitude, with which both shores are lined. I really hope to shirk the winter in this place.

The admiralty, on the peace, reduced my complement twenty-five men; now I am twenty-five short of reduced complement, have an increase of four mids, consequently a decrease of four a.b.'s, and ten sick, so that I am thirty-five short of reduced complement, and fifty-nine of war establishment, it is really difficult to work with any satisfaction. I have written to have a new master, this one being only acting. I was quite fagged from being continually on deck in the bad weather we experienced, but am now quite well,

I like this place most prodigiously. It being a city, the people are coming in for the winter, and the member Mr. Alcock's mother<sup>1</sup> has invited me to two routs and three balls. Several country gentlemen have offered to lend me horses to hunt with the subscription hounds, and leave to shoot on their estates without having been introduced or slept out of the ship; indeed, I have only been on shore four hours since my arrival; they send all these invitations, game, &c., on board to me.

<sup>1</sup> Sc. 'the mother of Mr. Alcock, the member.'



*TO LORD CATHCART*

Renard, off Waterford : 22nd December, 1802.

Since my last I have transported my ship off the town of Waterford, where, being exactly off the centre of the Parade, she forms an agreeable eye-trap to the astonished natives. I have been busily employed since my arrival in completing the rigging, blacking it, setting it up, &c., and painting the outside of my ship ; and I have the pleasure of assuring you that, in point of beauty as to the hull and neatness as to the rigging, she exceeds my most sanguine expectations. I am now employed building a kind of half-poop, which is now nearly completed, stowing the booms, and preparing the ship's inside for painting. Under this half-poop I have an elegant armoury, besides two hencoops, which are completely out of sight. I hope and trust against the Queen's birthday (which I mean to commemorate in the grandest style imaginable) that H.M. ship will be as crack a bark as any in the navy. Till then we have work enough on our shoulders. On that day I propose dressing the ship in colours at 9 a.m. ; at 1, firing a royal salute, illuminating the ship, firing three volleys, and letting off rockets and blue lights in the evening.

Our hope that all danger was over when I sent you my last were not well founded, as we touched twice and were nearly lost once coming through a narrow and intricate passage called the King's Channel, which is not more than the ship's length across. When we got into danger the pilot exclaimed before all the people, ' We are lost ! We are lost ! ' I contradicted him before the people, though I saw the danger, and told him if he talked such nonsense I would make him eat a crowbar. When we touched he was quite flurried, and said he

could do nothing more. 'Never fear, sir, never fear, sir, we shall only stick here.' I immediately carried a hawser out astern and hauled her off the way she went on without hurting a nail. The next day, after backing and filling up a reach, the wind favoured us, but our head was the wrong way. Nothing would serve this wooden-headed fellow but he must wear her in a place not twice her length. This I would not permit, as the ship must inevitably have run on the opposite shore, but said, if he would let me, I would cant her with a spring. 'A spring is it you mean? By J—s, I never heard of a spring in a ship.' Upon which I ran out a kedge from aft, hauled it taut, and canted the ship, to his great astonishment. Several times I said, 'Does not a rock lay here or there?' 'Faith, your honour is as good a pilot as I am.' 'I am sure there is danger there.' 'The d.v.l. blow the bit;' and he had some such answer to all my questions. But it is the nature of the beasts, for they are all alike. In my next I will give you some account of the town, its environs, and the natives, with their manner of living, &c.; at present I must conclude, as I am dressing to go to dinner with an East Indian, Major Fitzgerald, and my hair is torturing.

I almost forgot to mention that I have already entered fifty men for H.M. fleet, out of which number I have selected ten for the Renard.

*TO SIR EVAN NEPEAN, BART.*

Renard, Waterford Harbour: 16th March, 1803.

I received your letter dated the 7th inst. on Sunday morning; and have to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on Sunday night I commenced a hot press, and brought on board Le Renard every

seaman I could find at Waterford and its vicinity. I have since discharged all first mates, apprentices, unfit objects, and have now fifty prime seamen, four ordinary seamen, eleven volunteer landmen, ready for H.M. service. The seamen mostly belong to Whitehaven and Swansea. . . . The volunteers are mostly raw potato-diggers, lightermen, &c.

*TO LORD CATHCART.*

Le Renard, Waterford : Sunday, 20th March, 1803.

Having received orders to press last Sunday, have since been so closely, severely, and, I may say, dangerously occupied, that I really have not had a moment to call my own since I commenced this unpleasant, though necessary, part of my duty. I have been, for the trade carried on here, extremely successful ; having procured fifty able and thirty ordinary seamen and landmen. I will give you a short description of the manner I executed this service.

I received the warrants early Sunday morning and kept the whole a profound secret. At dark I walked up to the barracks, requested, and Colonel Houstoun granted, a captain's picquet to hold themselves in readiness, and ordered the guards to be reinforced at 12.30. The vessels all lay in tiers off the quay of Waterford, which is like the pier at Weymouth, only half a mile in extent, with a gang-board from the inner vessel to the shore. At 11 I landed the marines under their sergeant, with orders to post a sentinel at each gang-board and to patrol up and down the quay with the rest, to take up stragglers and put them on board one of the vessels, where they would be safe. I at the same time landed a mid with a letter to the mayor (who was not fit to be trusted, being an old man, a strong party man, and the new election about to take place),

to desire him to hold himself in readiness to head the military, stating that a riot might occur, &c. At 12 I sent my three boats—one to the centre under the acting-lieutenant, one to the right under the first, one to the left under the second lieutenant. The seamen gave the alarm from one vessel to the other and tried to escape, but were, to their astonishment, saluted with a charged bayonet by the marine at the gang-board and driven back. In four hours with three boats I had 140 men pressed. I was employed the next three days examining affidavits, liberating first mates, apprentices, sick and maimed men ; so that out of 140 I only could keep sixty-five men fit for the service.

Last Thursday I had a narrow escape. I was pressing in the houses at night, and at last went to a part of the town called Ballybricken, which is mostly inhabited by butchers, the most numerous class of people here. I was informed that, armed with cleavers, knives, pikes, &c., they, to the number of 150, waylaid me, and I only escaped by going a different way down, which I was induced to do to examine a public-house. They have sworn to do me out, as the term is here. I now live entirely on board, never being on shore except in the forenoon. I am then pelted and hissed. The expression is, 'A groan for the kidnapper!' However, I have them *in terrorem*, from the vigour with which I keep it up, and sensibly affect the market. I intend moving Renard halfway down the river to carry on the war at the entrance ; for now I cannot sail without a NW wind, and if I get orders to move it would be unpleasant to be windbound in this cursed Irish hole. I hope to God I shall soon be released from this state of drudgery, and get into a Christian country again, for I am heartily tired of being confined to this river. It is more than four

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months since I arrived here. I wrote to Lord Nelson three days ago begging him, in the event of a war, to ask for Renard to be under his orders. This can do no harm. . . .

Having so many dissatisfied people on board, I loaded my two after guns (only) with case shot and pointed them forwards, cause the officers to watch with their side-arms on, have four sentinels planted, and do not allow but one of them to come up at a time after sunset. The arms are all aft—abaft the loaded cannonades; these I think at least necessary precautions. I have one potato-digger in irons for abusing grossly one of the officers and saying, 'The boys were preparing their pikes to upset tyranny.' He is very drunk. Adieu!

*LORD ST. VINCENT TO LORD CATHCART*

Admiralty : 17th May, 1803.

I did not apprise your lordship of the destination of the *Renard*, because I wished to avoid giving pain or alarm to Lady Cathcart on her son being by accident sent to Barbados with a despatch to Commodore Hood, no other sloop of war having been ready to proceed from Plymouth when the messenger arrived there. I hope he will soon return; and, although I cannot answer the last interrogatory, I beg leave to assure your lordship of the good disposition I feel towards him.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

Renard, off Lizard : 3rd July, 1803.

Here I am, thank God, safely arrived after an absence of three months, in perfect health. Our destination was to the island of Barbados, with orders to be under the command of Commodore Hood. We sailed, as you know, suddenly on the 4th of April, with all our running rigging in our

cutter, which we towed astern. Providentially it was fine weather, and in the course of the night I contrived to reeve all my gear and make it possible for us to weather a gale. We were only in Plymouth four days—after four months' absence—during which time they took nineteen of my ship's company from me and employed me for one day in carrying the ninety men I had pressed to the flagship. We contrived to refit, draw all our stores, and proceed to sea the moment I received my despatches and was returned my nineteen men.

We were continually harassed with either strong westerly gales or calms, till, having passed the tropic of Cancer, we fell in with the SE trades, and I had the mortification and distress not to reach Barbados till the 7th of May, being thirty-three days from my leaving England. Our equipment here was as quick as at Plymouth, for I went to sea on the next evening complete in water, in company with Commodore Hood, to cruise off Cape Salines, Isle of Martinique. Here we continued a week, when, orders having been received to send us home, I was sent to Barbados to complete in water, receive the governor's and commander-in-chief's despatches, to rejoin the squadron, and from thence proceed to Antigua to get supplied with provisions and a main and mizen-topmast, two main-topsail yards, jib-boom, which I had lost on my outward passage; also to complete my stock, &c., things being much cheaper at Antigua, and to carry home an account of the state of the Blenheim and De Ruyter.

When I rejoined the squadron, which was a week after I had parted from them, the commodore had received accounts that rendered my going to Antigua useless; at the same time said he had despatches which he wished to reach England with

all possible speed, and asked me if I would venture the passage without a supply of masts and yards. Of course I made no difficulty, was supplied with provisions from Centaur, and proceeded on my homeward passage ten days from my leaving Barbados, on the 24th May. A French frigate arrived at Guadeloupe on the 10th, —<sup>1</sup> days from Rochefort, and reported that the continuance of peace was certain. On our homeward passage we were, as usual, bothered with continual calms and foul winds, having had but one good day's run since I got into the variable winds, and have already been thirty-nine days on our passage.

We have been greatly distressed for water, having been on an allowance of a quart a man per day owing to some of our casks leaking, and have been without firing of any sort till the day before yesterday I fell in with an American, from whom I got some wood, and the Lapwing and convoy—luckily in a calm—from whom I got beer and water. We have been on salt provisions this last three weeks in the cabin, one of my sheep having died of the rot. Thus you have heard my rhapsody of egotism. The worst and most vexatious part remains to be told. On the 4th June I spoke a French brig loaded with cotton, coffee, sugar; on the 23rd June I spoke a French ship of seven hundred tons loaded with liqueurs, tamarinds, coffee, sugar, preserves, &c. I had half a mind to have detained her, as I supposed it was likely to be a war from the Frenchman's saying it was peace; but not having heard of war, as the demurrage arising from such a step would be upwards of two thousand pounds if it had been peace, as it would not be a pleasant reflection to have given those

<sup>1</sup> Blotted; illegible.

villains (had it been peace) a cause of complaint, added to the likelihood of my being posted into a ship of the fleet not having as many pence in the world, induced me to let him pass. But you must allow it was a vexatious occurrence to fall upon two prizes, running a straight course (for I am not allowed and would not alter my course a quarter of a point for a galleon when charged with despatches) to let them slip through my fingers. However, I think it a good omen—to receive the news of a war from a privateer at six o'clock a.m. on the 30th of June, my birthday, and hope Lord St. Vincent will grant me a cruise. At all events, I hope he will not be displeased at the length of our passage, which I used every endeavour to shorten, as I know people in office on reading the accounts are too apt to say, 'Why, six sail of the line came from Jamaica in three weeks, and here is a fast-sailing single sloop above six weeks performing a shorter voyage'—measuring the person's conduct by his success, not by his exertions and the difficulties he has to undergo.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

Renard, Plymouth Sound : 8th July, 1803.

I am, thank God, well and ready for sea in all that depends on our exertions, though I fear I shall be detained, there being no sails in store. I hope to be ready by Sunday. I have this day received orders to put myself under Sir James Saumarez at Guernsey. This is very hard, as I think, from the manner I have been harassed lately—four days in port in three months, and at the end of three days to be ready for sea—it would have been as handsome to give me a cruise, particularly as I see prizes coming in, and vessels going out cruising who have not half the claim we have. . . . You may imagine



I was not a little mortified when I received my orders this day to go cruising among rocks and breakers, without the smallest probability of doing anything either for promotion or comfort. This is the opportunity, and I see it wrested from me ; for there will be no probability of making prizes in a cruise a month hence without a Spanish war, as by that time all the French trade, except the coasting, will be annihilated.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

Renard, off Seven Isles : 29th July, 1803. 6 a.m.

I have only time to tell you that I am quite well and cruising from the Isle d'Er to the Isle de Bas, or rather blockading the coast, which is indeed a very barren one. On my arrival here about twelve days ago, I found the Kite, who I relieved, and, chasing a fishing-boat, I cut the fellow off and took him with my gig among the rocks. I fitted this fellow out after sending the prisoners in, and decked him, and sent her to cruise continually during the night in the mouths of the small harbours between Seven Isles and the main, and, by day, to fish with the enemy's fishing-boats. This scheme answered for about four days very well, and when I wanted to get hold of the boat after she had been there her time I chased her along under the batteries, fired over her several shot, and she, as was concerted, struck. At last she happened to chase a boat in too close and got smoked. Four days ago I was fishing upon the Triagoz and had only my gig with me, a fowling-piece, and two muskets to shoot the birds. We saw a nice-looking sloop turning within gunshot of St. Saviour's. We immediately chased him though unarmed, and by dint of rowing got within pistol-shot of him as he [was] rounding the point half a mile up the creek. I

did not think it prudent to go too far on account of the enemy's musketry, so the fellow got off.

These are the only adventures we have met with except the daily ones, when we have a breeze, of going into all their ports, and at night standing within musket-shot of the shore and giving them our broadside, and standing out. It would do you good to see how we alarm them. They have a string of fires all round the coast in a few minutes, flash powder, and by the time we get nearly out of shot let fly at us. They are mostly barbette batteries, placed at point-blank shot from each other all round the coast, and mount from two to four guns from 12- to 24-pounders. When my boats are repaired, I intend presenting the touch-holes of some of them with a rat-tailed file drove taut down, which they will not be able to drill or draw. I am sure it will be practicable, as I frequently in the morning see not a soul in the batteries. When they fire at us, we give it them again, and you have no idea what good gunners we are turned. My pilot is a most uncommon expert one, my two lieutenants uncommonly dashing and trustworthy, my marines, I flatter myself, in uncommon good order, and every sailor in the ship regularly drilled with the marines every day to the small arms, and we practise the great guns on the shore. I am twenty short of complement, but have pressed this morning five men out of a Jersey lugger, who we caught by fair sailing. He would not bring to till after firing several bow guns loaded with case and round shot. Finding I had the heels of him, I kept away and gave him a whole broadside over him, ahead of him, and between his masts, which brought his mainsail down. The ship is so disguised that they chase her till they come close, and then our heels and guns give them to us. It is my delight annoying these

vagabonds' coast. If they would only get some vessels we might cut them out and not annoy the shore ; but till they do, I will continue to annoy them.

*TO LORD CATHCART*

La Clorinde : <sup>1</sup> Sunday, 29th April, 1804.

Here <sup>2</sup> I am, in the most perfect health, getting on rapidly in the outfit of La Clorinde, though the certainty of her being obliged shortly to go in dock damps the ardour of my exertions. She is a most charming ship, only three years old, and, by the accounts of the French officers here, their fastest-sailing frigate. Her having been on shore and being iron-fastened is the only occasion of her being docked. Never did any climate agree so well with me as this does ; indeed, I never have had even a headache, or the slightest indisposition. I eat hearty and sleep as well as I did in England. They reckon the business of fitting ships the most unhealthy, so when I have got this ship ready for sea I will be able to persuade some of the frightened gentlemen to change with me, and I trust by the packet after next—indeed, I have not a doubt of it—to style myself either captain of the *Uranie* or *Fortunée* or perhaps *Blanche*, as none of the captains of the above vessels can stand the climate.

The admiral <sup>3</sup> here is most particularly civil to me, so is Admiral Dacres. The service here is so active, and the commander-in-chief so good an officer, that I really should have no objection to serve on this station. I have been offered by Admiral Dacres very kindly to be his captain in

<sup>1</sup> The *Clorinde* was taken at St. Domingo in November 1803, really by Lieutenant N. J. Willoughby.

<sup>2</sup> Port Royal, Jamaica.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Thomas Duckworth.

the Theseus, but declined it, saying that if I could not get a good frigate here, I would not change La Clorinde, but trust to the Admiralty's letting me keep her when we get home, or your being able to persuade them to do it. Indeed, she is the third finest frigate in the navy, only 100 tons smaller than *Egyptienne*. There is no news here worth relating. I have never been into Kingston and have made a rule of never dining on shore except at the admiral's and commissioner's ; for if I once did I should never get the ship fitted for sea.

TO LORD CATHCART

[Endorsed by Lady Cathcart : 'The last letter from my ever dear and lamented son.']

Clorinde, Port Royal : 21st May, 1804.

I transmit this to you from Port Royal, where I have now been nearly six weeks, and have had a good deal of fag in fitting out *Clorinde*, independent of a great many teasing, trifling, yet vexatious impediments which the new commissioner<sup>1</sup> throws in every ship's way. He is afflicted to an extraordinary degree with that mania of false economy which will literally end in causing the loss of many of our lives. I had nearly experienced the good effects of twice-laid cordage in *Renard*. It is so absurd to prefer losing masts, lives, ships, to the trifling expense of supplying good rope, and to wear sails till they become dangerous and inconvertible for other purposes, and supply new canvas for windsails, awnings, &c., from having no half-worn or old in store.

We are nearly ready for sea and are appointed to sail on the 20th of next month. We are in fair order, have got 130 men, and get top-gallant yards up and down every morning. She is a charming ship, and if I could insure keeping her

<sup>1</sup> Charles Stirling, a captain of 1783.

would not change her for any in the navy ; but the chances of their giving her to an older captain are so great that if I can get a ship in good repair to stay in the country I will change with her. Unfortunately, the odds are against me, as there is an idea of a Spanish war, and I fear nobody will change ; in which case you will hear of my arrival at Portsmouth early in August.

This climate agrees most perfectly with me. I have not had a headache since my arrival. The captain that superseded me in *Renard* has died ; also the purser I broke, and two or three lieutenants, since my arrival ; but there are very few deaths occur that you may not trace the cause to some irregularity or debauch.

Sir John Duckworth is very civil indeed. I live with him whenever I choose it, and carry on the war for him as his captain, in a great measure, though his flag is not on board *Clorinde*. By being always moving and making myself useful to him, I get almost everything done I ask for by him. At my request, he made my clerk purser of the *Clorinde*, giving him two steps at once. We have hove down the *Duquesne*<sup>1</sup> and stopped her leaks, which will enable her to go home with us. Pray use your endeavours to pave the way for my keeping this ship when we get home ; for it will be a dreadful thing being turned adrift, or into a 28-gun ship that will not sail from one of the finest frigates in the service.

*SIR J. T. DUCKWORTH TO LORD CATHCART*

Shark, Port Royal : 10th June, 1804.

My Lord,—It is with the highest distress of mind I feel called on to introduce myself to your

<sup>1</sup> A 74, captured in the preceding July when trying to break out of Cape François.

lordship as a remaining tribute of friendship to the memory of your valuable son, to acquaint your lordship that he slept at my house the 31st May, and in the morning of 1st June complained of being a little indisposed, when, from the rapid progress the disorders of this climate make, I directly sent for the physician of the squadron, and one deemed eminent on shore, when they gave me encouragement it was not the destructive plague of this country. However, the next day it too strongly showed its type, and on the 5th instant I saw, alas! the melancholy dissolution, and he was interred on that evening, with all military honours, in Kingston churchyard. Should your lordship think proper to send out any memento to mark the situation of this excellent officer, I will finish my painful task in seeing it placed.

I have directed my secretary—as all his own confidential people are dead—to have an inventory taken of his effects, and they will be disposed of according to the forms of the service. . . .

I have the honour to be, my Lord, with real commiseration, your lordship's most obedient and faithful humble servant,

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

*LORD MELVILLE TO LORD CATHCART*

Admiralty: 21st July, 1804.

My dear Lord,—I this morning received Lady Cathcart's letter, and you will learn with deep affliction that I rather choose to answer it directly to your lordship than to her. At the same time I received Lady Cathcart's letter I received what, I am afraid, is too authentic intelligence of your son's death. I most sincerely condole with your lordship and your family. It would have made me happy if I could have corresponded with your lordship on

the subject of your son under more pleasing circumstances : but, however reluctantly, I feel it impossible for me to refrain from taking upon myself the disagreeable task I have now discharged. The most respectable and amiable character your son has left behind him is the only alleviating circumstance I have it in my power to lay before you.

With best wishes to your lordship, Lady Cathcart, and your remaining family, I remain, my dear Lord, yours very sincerely,

MELVILLE.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNALS  
OF  
THOMAS ADDISON  
OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE  
1801-1829





## INTRODUCTORY

OF Thomas Addison, the writer of the following Journals, very little is known beyond what is told in their pages and in the Company's official records. In these it is stated that he was born on 18th December, 1785, and that he made twelve voyages in the Company's service, as shown in the annexed table: <sup>1</sup>—

No.	Ship	Commander	Addison's position	Sailed
1	Marquis Wellesley	Bruce Mitchell .	Mid.	11 Feb., 1802
2	Brunswick . .	James L. Grant .	"	20 Mar., 1804
3	Marquis Wellesley	Charles Le Blanc	5th Mte.	14 May, 1806
4	"	"	4th "	29 Apr., 1809
5	"	"	3rd "	30 May, 1811
6	Minerva . .	Simon Lee .	2nd "	22 May, 1815
7	" . .	George Richardson	1st "	4 May, 1817
8	Moffat . .	Simon Lee .	1st "	2 Aug., 1818
9	Warren Hastings .	Thomas Larkins .	1st "	27 Dec., 1819
10	Thomas Coutts .	Alex. Christie .	1st "	Dec., 1821
11	—	—	1st "	—
12	Lowther Castle .	George K. Bathie	2nd "	23 Apr., 1829

The particulars of his eleventh voyage are missing, and, though it is said that he made five voyages as chief officer, nothing appears as a reason why in his twelfth voyage he was only second, with, of course, a diminished rate of pay—4*l.* a month instead of 5*l.* He may have had some difference with his captain, and been unfavourably reported on; in the reduced number of the Company's ships, very little would be sufficient to prevent his getting a post as chief, and still less as commander, to which his long service would seem to have entitled him. Whatever the reason, there is no doubt that he had been 'left.' Haviside, the commodore in 1829, and Glasspoole, a senior captain (pp. 372–3), were men of his own standing—third or fourth officers in 1810; Bathie, if in the service at all, was then still a midshipman.

<sup>1</sup> For these details I am indebted to the kind assistance of Mr. William Foster, of the India Office.

Addison was paid off from the Lowther Castle on 22nd October, 1830, and on 22nd April, 1834, was retired as second mate on a pension of 112*l.* per annum. Some time afterwards this seems to have been raised, and he stands on the list retired as chief mate on a pension of 128*l.*

In a power of attorney which he gave in 1835, he described himself as of Llanelly, in Carmarthen. Later on, he settled at Norwich, where he lived to a good old age, apparently unmarried, and died on 15th March, 1869. With the exception of a few small legacies,<sup>1</sup> his sword to one friend, his flute to another, and 50*l.* to his landlady, the whole of his estate, sworn as under 1,000*l.*, was left to his nephew, the Rev. John Holley,<sup>2</sup> rector of Barton St. Andrew, Norfolk.

The extracts from his Journals here given are taken from a fair copy, made (as appears from p. 343) shortly after his retirement, of 'Historical Extracts from the Journals of T. Addison,' though, in fact, a good deal of their interest must have been purely personal. Still, after the weeding, much remains that cannot easily be found elsewhere, as, for instance, the references to the routine on board the Company's ships, the close and constant connection between the Company's ships and the King's, the discipline on board the *Marengo* (pp. 358-9), the composition of the crew of the celebrated *Revenant* (p. 370), and the reappearance of the Warren Hastings in the Company's service (p. 369), commanded, as we see from the table just given, by the same Thomas Larkins who had so well defended her against the *Piémontaise*, and was afterwards so brutally ill-treated by Moreau. After Addison's death, or perhaps, rather, after Mr. Holley's, the MS. was sold, and was eventually bought by the Rev. R. W. Jones, rector of Tatterford, Norfolk, who has very kindly put it at the disposal of the Society. Notwithstanding its want of 'pedigree,' the internal evidence of the whole, and the mention of many unimportant details—*e.g.* his serving as fourth mate of the Marquis Wellesley in his third voyage, though originally rated fifth—now corroborated by the Company's records, are sufficient proofs of its genuineness.

<sup>1</sup> His will<sup>1</sup> in Somerset House.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the son or grandson of Mr. John Holley, mentioned on p. 337.

JOURNALS  
OF  
THOMAS ADDISON

1801.—A friend of Mr. John Holley's (Mr. Edmund Antrobus, teaman and banker, 480 Strand, London) procured me a midshipman's berth in the Honourable East India Company's maritime service. In the month of December 1801 I left home for the first time for the grand metropolis, and the above gentleman gave me a most friendly reception at his house. In a few days Mr. Antrobus took me to Mr. White, of Finsbury Square, the managing owner of the ship Marquis Wellesley, who had granted him the midshipman's appointment to that ship for me. This gentleman confirmed the grant with the greatest civility, and gave me an introductory letter to Mr. Le Blanc, the chief officer of the ship. . . . As soon as my sea stock of things was complete, Mr. A. at once conducted me down on board the ship at Gravesend. Mr. Le Blanc, who received us, immediately introduced and passed me over to my future messmates. I was soon initiated. In the afternoon I went up into the mizen top, outside the futtocks, when, according to custom, I should have been seized up to the rigging by a couple of seamen, had I not promised them (as advised) a gallon of grog; in lieu of which, by the

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by, five gallons was afterwards demanded of me by my messmates, stating that the mizen top was their sole prerogative. This is a very old usage practised on board all ships, considered a fair claim from all strangers on first going aloft.

He gives a list of thirty officers and petty officers—Bruce Mitchell, commander; Charles Le Blanc, chief officer—all English or Scotch names except (perhaps) the caulker, who is given as John Compora, and one of the quartermasters, José Anthony; the captain of the after-guard is Jerry Abbeshaw (so spelt).<sup>1</sup> There were five others not named: and ship's company, 116 in all, men and boys—it is not clearly stated, but would seem additional to the officers and petty officers named: that is 151 in all.

1802, *February*.—Having completed, and paid two months in advance to ship's company, cleared the ship of women and strangers; next morning weighed and made sail in charge of Mr. Thomas, pilot, who brought the ship to safe moorings in the Downs, the wind blowing strong from the SW with a high sea. About sundown H.M. frigate *Egyptienne* was coming in to an anchor, when in shortening sail [she] left not sufficient way to shoot ahead clear of us. She fell broadside into our hawse; although the boatswain did all in his power to cut the cable, it did not prevent a terrible collision. The frigate tore away our cutwater and bowsprit, which brought down the fore topmast; in fact, made a clean sweep forward, with only one anchor down and one spare (sheet) at the bows. Notwithstanding its blowing almost a gale during the night, we fortunately rode it out without any further mishap. Towards morning it moderated. The

<sup>1</sup> Probably a purser's name. Jerry Abershaw, the highwayman, was hanged in 1795, but his fame as a bold and daring fellow long survived.

frigate then sent hands on board to assist in riting<sup>1</sup> the ship, preparatory to hurrying round to Portsmouth harbour for a thorough repair.

The ship went to Portsmouth and was there repaired alongside of a man-of-war hulk. On 4th March she went out of harbour and anchored at Spithead.

*4th March.*—Received on board 73 men of H.M. 27th dragoons; 54 of H.M. 29th do.; and 49 of Hon. Company's troops and women for India.

*5th.*—Received on board the Hon. Company's packet from the India House, our despatches for Bengal and Madras. It being the time that peace was ratified at Amiens, our ships were despatched singly as convenient, or otherwise.

*6th.*—3.30 p.m. weighed and made sail. . . .

*7th.*—Saw the last of the land. . . .

*8th.*—Stowed the anchors and unbent and stowed away the harbour gear. . . .

*14th.*—Saw the island of Madeira WSW, 10 or 11 leagues.

*22nd.*—Saw the island of St. Anthony W b S, 10 leagues.

*4th April.*—Crossed the equator in long. 21° W. It being my own and Newton's (a young mess-mate's) first trip into Neptune's dominions, we underwent the accustomed and awful ordeal of shaving by the hands of his Majesty's barber, thereby rendering us free mariners of the ocean.

*24th and 25th.*—Off the Cape of Good Hope.

*10th May.*—At 6 p.m. got soundings 90 fms. sand and specks off Cape Agulhas.

*June 21st.*—At 4 p.m. saw the land of Ceylon from NNW to WNW, 5 or 6 leagues.

*24th.*—At daylight, saw Sadras flagstaff; 10 a.m.

<sup>1</sup> ? refitting.

saw Madras flagstaff; in the afternoon worked into the roads and came to an anchor in 10 fms.

From Madras the ship went to Bengal, and was back at Madras by 7th October.

*7th October.*—Found Admiral Rainier's squadron riding here, consisting of eight sail. Shortly afterwards a sham fight took place with the fleet and shore, followed by a grand illumination displayed from ships as well as the shore, likewise fireworks and rockets, in commemoration of the Peace of Amiens.

After visiting various places on the coast, the ship returned to Madras in the middle of January 1803, and sailed for England on 23rd February.

1803, *1st June.*—Lost the SE trade, having carried it across the line into lat.  $4^{\circ}$  N, long.  $22^{\circ}$  W.

*8th July.*—Saw a stranger to the NE, showed American colours. At 8 a.m. spoke the *Primrose* from Gibraltar bound to Boston. She informed us war was declared between England and France on 19th May. Filled cartridges &c., and made preparations for defence.

*19th.*—Bore down and made the private signal to a stranger, who not answering, made all sail away. Wind very light. At midnight, finding the stranger came up very fast (having had sweeps), cleared ship for action, myself acting as a powder monkey. At 1 a.m. she ranged up alongside, hove to and fired a shot. . . . She proved to be H.M. frigate *Endymion*, commanded by the Hon. Captain Paget, who sent a boat with a lieutenant and pressed eight men, alleging he had more prisoners on board than all his ship's company. A number of vessels we had seen to leeward were all his prizes. At

noon, the *Endymion* in chase, topsails down, WSW, in lat.  $48^{\circ} 6' N.$ , long.  $20^{\circ} 51' W.$

*24th or 25th.*—Between 8 and 9 A.M. when people at breakfast, observed two ships to the westward engaged in action. At first Captain Mitchell bore up to assist the one who had English colours, afterwards known to be the *Cullins Grove*; but a Mr. Barneby, passenger, protesting against the legal propriety of such proceeding on the part of an Indianman volunteering her services in such an affair, the ship was again hauled up to her course, not without expressions of strong indignation from Colonel Bowser and other passengers, and the above vessel was captured and the enemy afterwards gave us chase. P.M.<sup>1</sup> A large ship hove in sight upon the weather bow, standing down upon us. Cleared ship for action and showed two tiers of lights, the stranger first showing one, then two, then three tiers of lights. He was hailed seven times before the answer was understood to be *H. Britannic M. ship Plantagenet*, Captain [G. E. Hamond]<sup>2</sup> with the *Hazard* sloop of war as tender, in company. Captain [Hamond] came on board and complimented Captain Mitchell on his manœuvring the ship so well, preventing a raking broadside, &c., and likewise for the good arrangements made for the defence of the ship, as he walked round the decks with Captain M., the men remaining at quarters. Still, impressed a few hands from us. Next morning the *Hazard* took the Frenchman—*Caroline* corvette—who had given us chase. We soon entered and ran up Channel, with a fresh breeze from the southward and westward.

*1st August.*—At 10 a.m. came to an anchor in the Downs. Mr. Etheredge, pilot, took charge of the

<sup>1</sup> This, by the log, would be the 25th.

<sup>2</sup> Blank in MS.



ship with some ticket-men<sup>1</sup> to work ship up the river in place of those impressed or stowed away.

7th.—At moorings off Gun Wharf, Deptford. Discharged the ship's company, and hired lumpers' gangs to deliver the cargo, &c. Shortly afterwards found that Mr. White, managing owner of the Marquis Wellesley, had become bankrupt and was unable to pay the ship's company.

*Second Voyage H.C. ship Brunswick, 1804–5–6.*

1803.—On preparing for a second voyage I expressed to my friend Mr. Antrobus a desire to go to China. He kindly met my wishes and soon obtained for me a midshipman's berth on board of the Brunswick, Captain Grant,<sup>2</sup> a regular China ship of 1,200 tons. I was introduced to the captain, who was very civil and gentlemanly; was pleased to find I had been a voyage, as none of the other youngsters going had been at sea; therefore as senior, of course he should make me his midshipman coxswain, allow us a cabin, servant, and every comfort, &c., as long as we conducted ourselves like officers and gentlemen. What a different reception and treatment was this to what I met with on my last voyage, or rather first commencement! the contrast I soon experienced was most striking and delightful, especially to us midshipmen. Captain Grant was a martinet and great disciplinarian, which latter was exacted in all its branches from both officers and men; always made a point of treating and supporting us midshipmen as officers and gentlemen. There

<sup>1</sup> Men sent from a ship of war in lieu of pressed men. See *Journal of Admiral James* (N.R.S. vol. vi.), p. 225, note.

<sup>2</sup> In 1822 Grant was master-attendant at Madras, where Addison, then chief mate of the Thomas Coutts (Captain Alexander Christie), dined with him. He died at Madras (date not mentioned).

were five of us ; two were stationed as signal midshipmen, as he was commodore ; the other three in three watches, one in each. I was in the latter ; never allowed to quit the lee side of the quarter-deck, except on duty or on general occasions of reefing or furling. Two of us dined with him every day, and nothing could exceed his politeness and kindness at the table ; fond of telling us long yarns about his having served midshipman in the navy with the Duke of Clarence (present king) in the old Queen, 98 guns ;<sup>1</sup> boasting for the sake of proper experience and knowledge it was deemed wise by their friends not to allow them regular servants, consequently the young prince and himself had to take their turns cooking, &c., with others, as they could ; and often in scrapes and quarrels with their messmates for their extravagance in stealing so much of the mess flour to powder their hair whenever they dined with the admiral. This intimacy with the young prince ever afterwards filled his mind with high aristocratic notions. He attained the rank of lieutenant in the navy and was serving with a Mr. Hugh Lindsay, senior lieutenant to himself, in a frigate in the West Indies.<sup>2</sup> Their captain died ; after which they thought proper to continue out the cruise, Lindsay as captain, Grant first lieutenant, for which conduct, on arriving in England, [they] found it necessary to resign their commissions. They both then entered the Company's service, Grant as 4th officer, and Lindsay as 5th officer. Captain Grant still kept the seniority over his old shipmate, who was now in the fleet in command of the Lady Jane Dundas, of 820 tons, a miserable bad sailing ship.

<sup>1</sup> Addison must have misunderstood ; it was in the Prince George (cf. *ante*, p. 226) that Grant was the prince's messmate.

<sup>2</sup> Flora, Captain George Stoney, DD at sea, July 17, 1786.

1804, *February*.—The stores and cargo being all on board, the ship was removed down to the Lower Hope to receive on board passengers, and complete and pay the ship's company.

Received on board here Colonel Hatton and staff of H.M. 66th regiment, with about 350 privates.

21st *March*.—The fleet being all assembled and ready for sea, with H.M. frigate Lapwing, Captain Fane, convoy, at 3 p.m. this day weighed per signal with the fleet from the Motherbank, and made sail under close-reefed topsails, and ran through the Needles with fresh breezes from the northward and eastward, and clear weather. At 7 p.m. the Needles Light bore W by S, 2 leagues; at 7.30 the pilot left the ship; at 11, the Portland Lights NNW, 3 leagues. At this time an increasing gale with thick hazy weather; the fleet became much dispersed; furled the topsails; towards the morning it moderated and cleared up.

*Ships of the Fleet.*

H.M. frigate Lapwing.	Captain Fane, commander.
H.C. ship Brunswick	Captain Grant.
H.C.S. Marquis of Ely.	Captain [Andrew] Hannay.
H.C.S. Marquis of Wellesley.	Captain Le Blanc.
H.C.S. Lady Jane Dundas.	Captain Hon. H. Lindsay.
H.C.S. Marchioness of Exeter.	Captain Alex. Nash.
H.C.S. Lord Nelson.	Captain Orrok.
H.C.S. Princess Charlotte.	Captain John Logan.
H.C.S. Canton.	Captain Thos. Lushington.



5th April.—Got into the NE trade in lat.  $27^{\circ} 49'$  N, long.  $19^{\circ} 19'$  W ; the fleet very wide ; some ships missing.

7th.—Trimmed ship by the head with 200 pigs of lead. The missing ships rejoined the convoy with two whalers. On a Saturday<sup>1</sup> (weather permitting) constantly exercised great guns, and small arms frequently, with powder blank cartridges. My station at quarters was aide-de-camp to the captain.

9th.—John McDonald, seaman, was punished with a dozen for insolence to the boatswain.

10th.—At daylight saw the island of St. Antony SE, 5 or 6 leagues.

12th.—Punished T. Botler, seaman, with a dozen for neglect, &c.

13th.—This day H.M. frigate Lapwing parted company with the fleet, to return to England. Our ship, the Brunswick, Captain Grant, became commodore, took the lead and made the signal to steer S by W. Lady Jane Dundas, frequently hull down astern, occasioned much detention to the fleet.

17th.—Made signal to the fleet for a boat with an officer to receive fresh instructions.

23rd June [*in Mozambique Passage*].—At daylight saw a strange brig in the SE quarter, looking very suspicious. Made sail after her, previously making the following signals : for the Lord Nelson to chase with us, and Dundas to lead the fleet, steering NE by N. At 7 a.m. the brig tacked ; at half after seven, tacked after her ; at eight made signal for the fleet to bring to. Towards noon, coming up fast with the chase. At half-past noon, after a chase of seven hours, came up with the French brig La Charlotte, of 4 guns and twenty-nine men, Captain Maquet, twenty-eight days from the Isle of

<sup>1</sup> The 7th was Monday.

France, bound to the Mozambique with sundry old muskets and goods for slaves. Mr. Bunn, second officer, and myself, with five seamen and twenty soldiers, sent in the cutter to take possession of her. Received on board as prisoners, Captain Maquet, one lieutenant, one midshipman, and ten seamen. At 3 p.m. took the brig in tow and made all sail to rejoin the fleet, bearing NE. At five, finding the brig would keep company, cast her off.

I gave up my hammock to the French midshipman, whom we afterwards saw on board the *Marengo* as *pilotant* or *steersman*.

25th June.—Made signal for all captains. After a consultation the prize was not deemed worth retaining. We threw overboard all the cases of muskets they had for trade and gave up the brig to her captain, who, with all his people (except one fine man reserved by Captain Grant, who would not serve, but afterwards insisted to be landed a prisoner of war at Madras), were most thankful, when she lost no time in making all sail from us.

17th July.—Arrived off Trincomalee Fort, Os-naburg : worked into the Back Bay ; saluted H.M. ship *Centurion* with eleven guns, which was returned. At half-past five p.m. anchored in eight fathoms, Flagstaff Point SE  $\frac{1}{2}$  E, Fort Os-naburg E by S,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile. Moored ship. Found riding here H.M. ships *Centurion* and *Sheerness* ; *Canton* and *Ely* in company.

18th.—A lieutenant from H.M.S. *Centurion* came and pressed ten men. At  $4\frac{1}{2}$  a.m. commenced disembarking the troops, assisted by the boats of H.M. ships. At 10 a.m., the troops and baggage being all landed, cleaned ship and prepared for sea. Deserted from the cutter [three seamen], who entered on board H.M.S. *Sheerness*. At noon made signal to unmoor. At half-past five p.m.

weighed and run out into the offing. . . . At eight made sail.

20<sup>th</sup>.—At 5 p.m. anchored in Madras Roads, in eleven fathom ; St. Thomas's Mount SW by S, and Flagstaff W by S,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile off shore ; then saluted the fort with nine guns ; the same returned. Found riding here H.C.SS. Dundas, Wellesley, Nelson, and Charlotte. A lieutenant from H.M.S. Wilhelmina pressed four of our men. Captain Grant went on shore.

We remained here from this to 13<sup>th</sup> August, experiencing mostly light land and sea breezes, with hot sultry weather. Employed landing Company's cargo, private trade ; refitting the rigging, painting ship, taking in cotton, &c., on account of Captain Grant ; during which time the Bengal ships sailed to the north.

13<sup>th</sup> August.—Having received our signal instructions, at daylight H.M. frigate Caroline, Captain Page, commodore, made signal for fleet to unmoor. This morning attended Captain Grant as coxswain, on board of H.M.S. Grampus (50 guns), Captain Caulfeild, just as a frigate, coming to an anchor, was dropping athwart hawse, when Caulfeild called below to heave the ship astern, which was beautifully executed instanter and the frigate passed without doing mischief. During our stay here an unfortunate messmate, William Lowden, had purloined a watch from a quartermaster to purchase fruit. In consequence Captain Grant dismissed and sent him on board H.M.F. Caroline, where, with two or three other young officers similarly disgraced, he did his duty before the mast.

At 11.15 a.m. weighed per signal, with a light sea breeze, and made sail out of the Roads, in company with H.M. ships Caroline and Grampus, H.C. ships Canton, Ely, and five country ships.

*23rd September, off Pedro Branco.*—All the fleet being collected, at daylight weighed per signal and made sail. At 8 a.m., Point Romania N by W ; at noon, Pedro Branco ESE, half a mile—a most remarkable white rock, situated at the mouth of Singapore Straits, opening into the China Sea.

It was deemed prudent for all the convoy to be kept in close order of sailing, as a squadron under the French admiral Linois was reported to be cruising in the China Seas.

The fleet consisted of the following ships :—

H.M.S. Caroline	. Commodore Page.
H.M.S. Grampus	. Captain Caulfeild.
H.M.S. La Dédai- gneuse.	Captain P. Heywood.
H.M.S. Russell (74 guns).	Captain [R. Williams].
H.M.S. Dasher	. Captain [J. Delafons].
H.C.S. Glatton	. Captain Chas. Drummond.
H.C.S. Cirencester	. Captain T. Robertson.
H.C.S. Walmer Castle.	Captain Essex Henry Bond.
H.C.S. Marquis of Ely.	Captain A. Hannay.
H.C.S. Thames	. Captain John Skottowe.
H.C.S. Canton	. Captain T. Lushington.
H.C.S. Winchelsea	. Captain W. Campbell.
H.C.S. Brunswick	. Captain J. L. Grant.

And ten country ships.

*11th October, through Bocca Tigris.*—At noon having received on board two mandarins from the fort at Bocca Tigris (mouth of the Tiger), according to custom granting us permission to pass, weighed and made sail through, previously scaling the guns.

*12th.*—At five the following morning anchored

in five fathoms, about half a mile below Second Bar.

13<sup>th</sup>.—At 9 p.m. weighed at last quarter flood, in company with the fleet, who had nearly all joined again. Notwithstanding two pilots employed with 100 lights—that is, boats placed in two rows of fifty lights each across the bar, the ship to sail between—as we were about mid-channel, one pilot said ‘port littee,’ the other calling out almost the same time ‘starboard littee.’ Captain Grant, in the anxiety of the moment, kicked one fellow overboard, and the other jumped directly afterwards; the lights were all instantly put out and the ship regularly grounded on the bar, as did the Marquis of Ely and a country ship; but these were floated again without much trouble. It was about 9.30 p.m. Carried out a kedge, but, the tide falling, could not heave off. Down topgallant yards and masts; started all the water; delivered the guns, as most of the ships sent their launches to our assistance. Not having much rise of tide the first flood, our efforts to move became ineffectual.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Had northerly winds and fine weather. At daylight, however, we got the ship righted, and upon heaving at nearly high water, she floated, swung and took the ground again. Continued our exertions and heaving till the tide ebbed, but without effect. Hung the bower anchors to boats to lighten forward. P.M. Mr. Martin, fourth officer, carried out in our launch the stream anchor into deep water, ready for next flood, myself attending him with the cutter. At last quarter flood observed the ship had hove afloat. She slipped the hawsers and Captain Grant hailed us to stay to pick up the same and boat, the anchor, &c., while they backed and filled across the channel, and at 11 p.m. came to in six fathoms, about two miles clear above



the bar. Our job in the boats was hard, queerish work, as we had heavy rain all night ; did not reach the Brunswick till breakfast time next morning, when the captain was very civil to us.

*19th October, moored in Whampoa Reach.*—Many of the ships had suffered severely from the late gale, or rather typhoon ; H.M. frigate *La Dédaigneuse* was totally dismasted.

Captain Charles Drummond, of the *Glatton*, at Whampoa was senior Company's commander, and Captain James Ludovic Grant, of the *Brunswick*, was next in command. The Company at that time allowed 500*l.* to the senior, and 300*l.* to the second in command for the season, for public dinners and various expenses, &c. Among orders that were issued written, one was—That whichever ship's turn it was on a Sunday, the captain was to attend on board, likewise the surgeon, whilst one of his sworn officers rowed guard up and down the fleet the whole of the day till 8 p.m. ; then to make his report to the senior ship.

*24th.*—A.M. Sent a cutter with an officer to attend the funeral of a French chief from Canton to French Island. All the ships joined in sending boats to aid in forming a numerous and handsome procession from abreast of Whampoa down to the place of interment on the island.

P.M. The Hoppo came on board and surveyed the ship. This ceremony (or rather exaction of the Chinese, as they always make it a pretext for squeezing a certain number of dollars from the ship's security-merchant) is performed every voyage, alleging, with the coolest impudence, 'ship makea changee ; grow a littee more largee.' The dimensions they take are merely the length between the foremast and mizenmast, and the spread of the beam from gangway to gangway. The viceroy

himself comes once in three or four seasons, with great pomp and show, attended with many hundred boats containing a large retinue of mandarin officers, &c. Our captains are generally down on board their ships, decked out to receive him, with yards manned, &c., &c., which was done on the present occasion, having first sent an officer in full fig in a cutter to compliment this great man (or John Tuck, as Jack calls him, from having a gallows in the fore part of his boat to tuck up any unfortunate native he chooses). As he approaches the shipping, he does not trust to our ropes and accommodations for entering the ship, having himself long convenient ladders sent forward for that purpose. After the business is over, he makes a present to the ship's company of bullocks, flour, fruit, and samsoe—a vile spirit which the men are made to exchange for something else, as the spirit has a most noxious, intoxicating, maddening effect. The captains afterwards dined together on board a large chop boat prepared by the commander for the occasion.

1805, *1st January*.—The pilot being on board, unmoored, crossed topgallant yards, and at 10.30 a.m. weighed per signal from the Glatton, and made sail with the fleet through the Bocca Tigris.

*4th*.—Being at anchor off Lin-Tin, this day, the fleet had all collected, consisting as follows :—

H.M.S. Caroline.	H.C.S. Thames.
H.M.S. Grampus.	H.C.S. Walmer Castle.
H.M.S. Dédaigneuse.	H.C.S. Marquis of Ely.
H.C.S. Glatton.	H.C.S. Canton.
H.C.S. Brunswick.	H.C.S. Winchelsea.
H.C.S. Cirencester.	

And seven country ships.

*11th*.—Commodore made signal for the whole

fleet to form the line of battle, continually exercising at quarters, both great guns and small arms, being apprehensive of Admiral Linois' squadron. Lat. obs.  $6^{\circ} 34' N$ , long.  $106^{\circ} 21' E$ .

21st.—At 8 a.m. the fleet arrived and anchored in Penang Harbour, in 12 fm. ; Flagstaff NW  $\frac{1}{2}$  W, off shore half a mile.

Found riding here Admirals Rainier and Pellew, the latter just arrived from England in H.M.S. Culloden, to relieve the former in command of the naval forces in India. Much saluting, manning yards, &c., took place between the two admirals.

28th.—Being all ready for sea, at 1 p.m. the fleet weighed, per signal from the Glatton ; at the same time Admiral Pellew in the Culloden, and Caulfield in the Grampus, went out of the harbour, giving convoy to the Bombay ships.

Templar, a boatswain's mate with us, had formerly been a lieutenant in the navy. He was a good officer, and quite a gentleman if he pleased. I left him on board a country ship, he wishing to rejoin the navy.

*February to July.*—On leaving Penang, the Brunswick was bound for England ; but having sprung a serious leak—the result, apparently, of her grounding on the Second Bar—she was obliged to make for Ceylon and Bombay, where she was cleared out, docked, and repaired.

#### *Second Voyage back to Bombay.*

29th April.—P.M. Sailed Admiral Pellew in the Culloden, with his squadron, having taken, impressed into the service, Mr. Rea, our assistant-surgeon. The admiral likewise made an offer to me, as senior midshipman, through Captain Grant, that if I would enter for the Culloden he would immediately make me master's mate of the main deck ; being short of young officers, would be

glad of two of us. God only knows whether I acted right of the best<sup>1</sup> in not volunteering.

*14th May.*—Hauled the ship out of dock to the outer moorings. It had already been decided as being too late for the Brunswick to proceed home, the teas having been shipped for England in the Skelton Castle, Captain Normand, Experiment, Captain P. Campbell, and Devaynes, Captain Adlerley. Our destination being intended back to China again, with a cotton cargo, which would have paid the captain well.

*15th.*—Commenced receiving the stores. . . .

*22nd.*—Fiddled the topmasts and getting on with the rigging. About this time the men, many of them, were very plaguy in giving themselves up to the ships of war, till at last the captain, to prevent further annoyance, sent every man in the launch on board the then H.M. frigate Sir Edward Hughes, who, taking all worth having, returned the rest—about thirty of the lame and awkward—to the ship. We were obliged to hire French sailmakers out of the prison to repair our sails. These very men were afterwards sent away in a cartel a few days before we, the Brunswick, left Bombay. They fell in with Admiral Linois, who, wanting hands, took them out of the cartel. The men, of course, told their tale about us as to our time of sailing, &c., &c., making it an easy business for Johnny Crapaud to catch us, as he did.

*29th June.*—The ship this day reported ready for sea. Joined young Mr. Thomas Barrow as guinea-pig,<sup>2</sup> being the son of Captain T[homas] Barrow, late of the H.I.C.S. Sir Edward Hughes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So in MS.

<sup>2</sup> The guinea-pig was a marine cadet or junior midshipman in the Company's service.

<sup>3</sup> She had been bought into the navy.

1st July.—The Brunswick sailed from Bombay in company with the Sarah, Captain Mackintosh, and the Cambrian and James Drummond, country ships, for China. For the first three days, constant rain with dark blowing squally weather ; on the 4th, only the Sarah in company. Kept as near each other as weather and circumstances would admit, stretching off and on the coast till the 11th. At daybreak, steering E by S, two strange sails were discovered from the masthead, standing to the northward, on the larboard tack. Cleared ship for action. At 7 a.m., on nearing, made the private signal, which was not answered. Sarah made signal the strangers were suspicious. At 8.30 hauled our wind on the larboard tack, setting all sail, as did the Sarah. Made signal we thought the strangers were enemies. At this time we clearly perceived one was a line-of-battle ship, the other a frigate. About 10, made signal to the Sarah to know his opinion of the strangers. He answered 'Friends.' Repeated the private signal, and hoisted our colours, which after some minutes was answered by the strangers hoisting St. George's colours. The private signal not being answered, hauled it down at 10.30. The line-of-battle ship tacked, I supposed with an intention of getting our wake ; the frigate, however, continued on the same course, tacked about two miles to leeward of us. At 11.15 the line-of-battle ship tacked again ; the frigate having gained much ahead, tacked, with the apparent intention of fetching us. She passed some distance to leeward, and, exchanging St. George's for the French national colours, gave us a broadside in passing which was immediately returned ; but the ship laying over so much, we could not elevate our lee guns sufficiently to do him any damage. At 11.30 the frigate tacked nearly in our wake, when perceiving she was coming

up with us very fast, kept the ship a good full making all possible sail, in the hopes of being able to run her on shore. In this, however, we were disappointed; for the frigate had gained so considerably upon us, and was now so near, that it was impossible to accomplish our design. Perceiving, therefore, all hopes of escaping at an end, as the line-of-battle ship had gained and nearing us rapidly, that, in the event of our thwarting the frigate, the former must have been close up with us, so as to have given us the full force of her broadside before our ship could have grounded, which in all human probability must have sunk her, that, after a short consultation with my<sup>1</sup> officers, it was deemed most advisable to surrender. I cannot express the intensity of my feelings at the moment, being compelled to yield into the hands of the enemy this fine, beautiful, and valuable ship.

The ship was now brought to and the colours reluctantly struck, the town of Galle, on Ceylon, bearing W by N six or seven miles; the nearest land four or five miles. About a quarter of an hour after this a boat from the frigate boarded us with a lieutenant, who took possession and charge of the ship; informed us we had surrendered to the national ship *Marengo*, of 80 guns, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Linois, and the frigate *La Belle Poule*, of 44 guns, Captain Bruillac.

At 1 p.m. Captain Grant, all officers and mids (except the chief and surgeon, left to condemn the ship) were ordered on board the *Marengo*. The frigate continued in chase of the *Sarah*, who having got considerably to windward while [they were] taking possession of the *Brunswick*, stood on towards the land and apparently went on shore with

<sup>1</sup> From the use of the first person it would seem that this account is copied from Grant's journal.

all sail set, and immediately hoisted the signal of distress ; and we fear, by the account given by the captain of the *Belle Poule*, she must be totally lost.<sup>1</sup>

The Brunswick was very weakly manned, as nearly the whole of the ship's company had been pressed at Bombay, not having twenty effective European seamen on board. Our guns were consequently wholly manned with Chinamen, excepting one European to each ; the remainder, with the whole of the Lascars, were stationed on the upper deck, for the general defence of the ship.

*National ship Marengo, of 80 guns, Admiral Linois, proceeding to the Cape of Good Hope*

11th July.—The moment our colours were struck to the French, Captain Grant ordered all the officers and mids to go below, cleanse and put on their uniforms, which proved a fortunate circumstance ; for no sooner had they taken possession of the ship than sentinels were placed over our chests and property, and no longer were we allowed to go near them. Captain Grant said to the lieutenant shortly after his boarding, that he hoped private property would be respected. The lieutenant replying it depended upon the conduct of the crew as to the treatment they would meet with, our captain instantly assured him he could and would vouch for the propriety and good behaviour of his crew. However, shortly after these observations, about 1 p.m., Captain Grant and all officers and mids were ordered by the admiral to proceed on board the *Marengo*, just as we were, without a single rag of apparel, &c., &c. On going on board, all our sidearms were given up to the second captain at

<sup>1</sup> She was ; crew all saved. (James, *Naval History*, iv. 50–51.)

the capstan, who promised to restore them when we quitted the ship (but which was never done). Admiral Linois received Captain Grant with much civility and politeness into his own cabin ; the officers and we were marched below to the wardroom. Being cleared for action, the cabins were all down, and the whole deck clear fore and aft, open to the seamen, who came in in great numbers to gaze on the *prisonniers Anglois*. Rather droll soon to find myself individually singled out as an object of general attraction and remark, especially among the French officers, who, eyeing and whispering so much, at last induced me to beg of Mr. Bunn, our senior officer, to request an explanation. They declared I was so like a mid taken in the Princess Charlotte in September the past year, that they believed me to be the same person ; but my appearance so soon again in another ship was most miraculous and unaccountable, and it was some time before Mr. Bunn could convince them to the contrary, that it was utterly impossible I could be the person they alluded to, as undoubtedly I had quitted England with them in the Brunswick in March the past year, and remained with the ship ever since. At last they admitted it to be satisfactory.

Admiral Linois enquired of Grant about the Cambrian and James Drummond, who had parted from us. The men he had taken from the cartel had acquainted him with all particulars, many of them having been employed repairing our sails. However, he said he should not wait to look after them, quite content with his present capture ; especially as the news, he knew, would soon be conveyed from Galle to our cruisers, who would then be down in great strength ; that his plan was to be off with his prize to the southward as quick as possible, to which end he could only allow a few



hours for Captain Grant's servants to collect and seal up his things, table equipage, &c., of course sacred to himself, to be taken out at some future opportunity, and a few necessary articles of apparel for present use. There was not time to extend this indulgence to the officers, who had nothing but what we stood in; I shared a blanket with Mr. Martin.

We afterwards learnt Captain Grant had not long been with the admiral, when a seaman, knocking at the cabin door, produced a paper, signed round robin, begging to be allowed to plunder the prize. The admiral, having read the paper, tore it to bits, roughly desiring the fellow instantly to quit his presence, remarking to Captain Grant, 'You see how I treat these things.' But Captain Grant thought an English admiral would have acted differently if a seaman, in the first place, had dared to intrude upon him in his cabin without permission, and in the next place the insolence in presenting such a disgraceful and degrading petition, to grant which would be abominable treachery in any vessel. What, then, would it be in a flagship? No, no, the matter would not have passed off so lightly.

About two hours after this Captain Grant was called out to his steward, who, all bloody and bruised, was just come on board from the Brunswick. The man stated after the dinner he saw the lieutenant go to the sideboard, take and pocket many of the spoons, observing that they were just what he wanted for his mess. However, he (the steward) went and told him he had orders to collect all his master's plate; whereupon the lieutenant knocked him down; then he was dragged and fairly thrown into the boat from the gangway. Captain Grant soon represented this affair to the admiral, who

very promptly ordered his own first lieutenant and two other officers immediately to supersede those in charge of the prize, whom he ordered under an arrest on board their frigate. The lieutenant afterwards was tried at sea, broke, and dismissed the service.

At 4 p.m. they made all sail to the southward with the frigate and prize. The *Marengo* was pierced with 86 port-holes and mounted 84 guns. On her lower decks she carried 28 long 36-lb. guns French, 42-lb.<sup>1</sup> English; between decks ten feet being necessary to house them. Captain Grant declared there was no such heavy metal in the British navy, or, as he believed, in any part of the world. They had 1,000 French sailors on board, including, by the way, a good many Yankees among them, with about a hundred Lascars, who did all the drudgery of the ship.

We soon discovered the looseness of their discipline, officers and men mingling, hail well met. Liberty and Equality was a motto indeed stamped on the guns. I frequently saw the ship's barber (who scarcely could command as much water as would shave me in the morning) walking arm in arm with the first captain, chatting intimately together on the quarter-deck.<sup>2</sup> The watch above always took their meals upon deck, sitting round in parties like soldiers in transports. They have a poor idea of cleanliness; neatness is out of the question.

17<sup>th</sup>.—Towards midnight the lieutenant of the Brunswick hailed the admiral, stating he had fears

<sup>1</sup> Forty-two is an exaggeration; thirty-nine would be more correct.

<sup>2</sup> This kind of thing seems to have been not uncommon in the French Revolutionary navy; but compare Mr. Cathcart's observation about the same date, *ante*, p. 285.

about the Chinese prisoners ; they would do no work, and seemed very watchful ; in short, he begged they might be taken out of the ship, which was done next morning ; and on examining their boxes, to our great surprise, found these rascals had plundered some of the young officers' chests, as card and snuff boxes, fans, and various little matters were found and identified by some of our young gents.

18<sup>th</sup>.—The Brunswick here parted company, after rendezvous appointed by the admiral between hence and the Cape to meet again.

Our living was wretched. Only two meals per diem ; both put together would hardly make a good English breakfast, with a purser's pint of sour Bordeaux claret, and half a pint of water. I had a few Spanish dollars, and was glad to purchase, when one could, a bottle of water or bad claret, both the same price, one dollar ; the former had the preference. It was generally procured from the baker, whose honest possession of the same was very doubtful.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—This morning spoke a Swedish neutral vessel, bound to Europe. The admiral gave permission to Captain Grant to proceed to England in the neutral, if he chose it, and might take ten of his party with him. Captain Grant selected the following : Messrs. Bunn, Martin, Pears, Morris, Jackson, Addison, the three pigs,<sup>1</sup> and his servant ; but on going on board to inspect, found not sufficient length in the cabin for his cot—which obliged him to give it up, and a sad disappointment to us.

28<sup>th</sup>.—All the morning had very foggy weather. In the middle of the dinner hour it cleared off a little ; when, to their surprise and consternation,

<sup>1</sup> Sc. guinea-pigs.

found themselves close to a large convoy of Indiamen. Sudden was the bustle and confusion clearing away for action, which at last was accomplished in tolerable order. It was not until almost on the point of engaging that the admiral turned his head, thought of us who were standing on the lee side of the poop. We were all instantly conducted below into a hawser tier forward; Captain Grant remained in the lower gallery.

Firing now commenced with great spirit in the Marengo. In about a quarter of an hour we heard a thundering return from the English man-of-war, which was soon followed by terrific screams between decks. Nevertheless, I must say the seventeen men stationed at the great gun opposite our hatchway worked her well, firing at least twice in five minutes; indeed, it was battled most desperately on both sides till sundown, when both parties mutually hauled off for the night. Next morning (29th) I saw from the lower gallery the strangers a little to leeward, within about two gun shots, and afterwards heard they were eleven sail of our Indiamen under convoy of H.M.S. Blenheim, Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge. It came out as a curious fact the two admirals were each guided by certain restrictions which in some measure produced a check to a further voluntary conflict. Linois' chief business was to annoy and cut up our trade, avoiding the ships of war; and Troubridge was confined to the protection alone of that large and most valuable fleet to their destination in India. We were kept close below this following night, during which they separated, and we saw nothing more of the other fleet.

*16th August.*—St. Augustine's Bay was the last place of rendezvous; consequently we sailed for that place, yet after lying to for a day and a night in the bay saw nothing of the prize.

17th.—Our course was now shaped for the Cape of Good Hope. After buffeting about some little time in rough weather and high seas, made the land about Cape Agulhas; then stood on for False Bay, it being yet too early in the season for safety in Table Bay.

29th.—About this time we, in the *Marengo* and *Belle Poule* in company, anchored in Simon's Bay. After passing the Whittle's Rocks, ran in between Noah's Ark and the Roman Rocks and anchored in 9 fm.

Admiral Linois kindly admitted us young officers to quit the ship on exchange parole, with Captain Grant and the others. So, after thanking and taking leave of the admiral, we were all hurried into the launch, conveyed to the shore, and quietly remained on the jetty till a gentleman (by name Bletterman) came up and expressed extreme regret seeing British officers in such an uncomfortable situation, having no place to go to. Kindly offered every accommodation his own house could afford to four senior officers, who most gladly assented. Scarcely were they gone, when down came Grant, and became most happy to find the officers were provided, as the only lodgings he could procure would now serve for us. It was at a tavern, on a rising ground at the back of the town.

2nd September.—Early on the fourth morning after landing we heard much firing out in the offing, supposed from ship in distress. It had blown hardish all night. Between 9 and 10 a.m. saw the poor old *Brunswick* running in with all her sails split to ribbons, everything adrift; obviously had parted from her anchors, and evidently reduced to the last alternative of running the ship on shore.

We all ran round to witness this seamanlike achievement, done in the presence of a flagship and

frigate, in the command of at least 1,400 men. Mr. Scott declared the sole and only cause of the cables parting the night before was from want of common attention to the service in the hawse. Her wreck and cargo was sold to some American captain who came into the Cape for 3,500 rix-dollars. The ironwork about her was worth more money.

Admiral Linois stated it would require two months to put his ships in order for sea, and that he could not allow us to quit the [place]<sup>1</sup> until that was accomplished, with the exception of Captain Grant and three youngsters, who were allowed to go to England in a neutral vessel as soon as he pleased.

By active and good management on the part of Mr. Bletterman, we this day left this place in various conveyances for Cape Town, the distance twenty miles. On arrival our party was divided and quartered in different places. Jackson, Mackey, Tippet, and myself brought up at a capital house in Hottentot Square, belonging to a Mynheer and Madame Palme,<sup>2</sup> who did all that any people could do to make us comfortable and happy; and I feel assured that not one of us can ever forget the marked kind hospitality and friendship shown to us English prisoners by all the Dutch families of the place during our two months' sojourn at the Cape. No end to dinners, plays, concerts, balls, &c. I went up by myself to the top of Table Land, which is 4,000 feet above the level of the sea.

*October.*—In this month arrived in Table Bay the French national frigate *Atalante*, from the Mauritius; the *Marengo* and *Belle Poule* a few days after came round and joined her from Simon's

<sup>1</sup> Word omitted in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> The name is not clear; indeed, almost illegible.

Bay. There were likewise eighteen or twenty sail of Americans, on all of whom the admiral had laid an embargo till he himself should be ready for sea, which now approached so near completion that the time was fixed for our departure for St. Helena in an American whaling brig Eliza.

1st November.—This day at 5 p.m. (after a truly affectionate parting farewell from our kind and most hospitable friends at the Cape) went on board the American brig Eliza, Captain Chase and Mr. Macer chief mate. We, consisting of the officers and crew of the late H.C. ship Brunswick, at 6 p.m., having waved another grateful adieu to those kind friends who still remained *en masse* on the jetty to see us off, weighed and made sail out, leaving in the bay the French national ships Marengo, Belle Poule, and Atalante. We afterwards heard that the latter foundered the next day at her anchors in a heavy gale of wind ;<sup>1</sup> a fortunate escape for us and the brig, sailing as we did, as she proved a good sea-boat in rough weather, which of course we experienced outside for some days ; and late one evening (much to our confusion at the moment), the brig, as we supposed, must have struck upon a whale, first from the shock, which was followed by a mass of blubber and blood, &c., that turned up in her wake.

To the 5th.—Continued blowing in fresh gales and hard squalls at times from the northward and westward, and heavy sea, till the 5th.

6th.—Southerly winds and pleasant weather.

11th.—Got hold of SE Trade in 30° 53' S, with fine weather.

16th.—A.M. Saw the island of St. Helena NW by W, eleven or twelve leagues.

17th.—At 11 a.m. came to an anchor off St. James

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Troude, *Batailles navales de la France*, iii. 429.

Valley, St. Helena. Found riding here H.M. frigate Earl Howe, Captain George Cockburn, having on board, passenger from India, the late Governor-General, the Marquis Wellesley, and suite.

The frigate immediately received on board all the crew, consisting of thirty-two officers and men, of the late Brunswick, from the brig, entering our names on the books as a part of the ship's company, excepting Messrs. Scott and Bunn, chief and second mates. Some of our officers acted as master's mates. We mustered in all about seventeen in the berth.

20<sup>th</sup>.—9.30 a.m., weighed and made sail.

1806, 12<sup>th</sup> *January*.—At 6 anchored off Yarmouth, Isle of Wight.

13<sup>th</sup>.—This morning weighed and made sail for Spithead. P.M. Came to an anchor there in eight fathoms, our run being fifty-four days from St. Helena.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Landed the Marquis of Wellesley. As he disembarked, manned the yards, and saluted his lordship with nineteen guns.

Captain Cockburn had surrendered all our names to the port admiral, who in a few days gave a general discharge to all the officers and juniors of the old Brunswick, and glad enough we were to quit the frigate and start for London.

According to the Company's law, having been captured by an enemy, or the ship in any way wrecked or destroyed, the captain, officers, and crew forfeit their pay and wages; consequently we have no claim upon the owners of the late Brunswick for at least twenty months' hard duty on board of her.

In London Mr. Addison found that he had been exchanged, and was at liberty to go to sea again as soon as he liked. He was entered on board the Company's ship Marquis Wellesley, Captain Charles Le Blanc, as fifth mate. She dropped down the river from Deptford



on 27th February, 1806, and on 27th April sailed from Gravesend. The ship had been taken up by Government, and, after waiting at the Motherbank till 11th May, sailed from St. Helen's in company with seven or eight other transports, and the 64-gun ship *Lion*, Captain Rolles, on the 14th, and touched in Simon's Bay in August.

1806, 13th *October*.—Six p.m. came to an anchor off Fort Cornwallis, Penang; moored the ship. Found riding here the *Blenheim*, Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge, and *Greyhound* frigate, Captain Elphinstone. In the latter my brother Leonard left England as lieutenant of marines. Shortly after he unluckily left the frigate, she took the *Batavia*, a Dutch Indiaman, and Mr. Grimston, the surgeon, my brother's friend, told me that his share of prize money would have been 2,000*l*.

14th.—In consequence of the death of our second officer, Captain Le Blanc ordered the vacancy to be filled by advancing the juniors a step. I became fourth and a cabin.

16th.—In commencing watering, being the officer of the party on shore, Mr. Grimston, surgeon of the *Greyhound*, first got sight of me in passing; was sure from the likeness I must be Lieutenant Addison's brother. Accordingly, he dined on board with me this day in my cabin, and Jock Stewart, our assistant surgeon, met him. Jock became so pleased with his new acquaintance, and having no such feelings for our Dr. Parsons, volunteered at once for the frigate, which proved very gratifying to Captain Troubridge, the admiral's son, who commanded her now.

From Penang the Marquis Wellesley went, in January 1807, to Madras; thence to Bengal, and then back to Madras, where she anchored on 7th April.

*April*.—In consequence of having so many French prisoners of war at this time in the Madras

prison, the Government determined on one of our ships being taken up as a cartel to the Isle of France, which was decided by lots between Captains Nash<sup>1</sup> and Le Blanc. It fell to the latter to make the trip; consequently delivered all our guns (except two for signal), ammunition, &c.; rather slow work, as the monsoon had set in, keeping a heavy swell up in the roads.

29th May.—The rice not all out till this day, when we commenced receiving wood, water, wet provisions, and stores for the use of the French prisoners, over a quantity of sand ballast in the hold. Otherwise preparing for sea, cables and all stores in the hold, the orlop being entirely clear for the French.

8th June.—Received on board a number of French officers and privates [in all, 205] for the Isle of France. Hoisted cartel colours or French ditto at the fore. [Sailed on the 11th.]

18th July.—At 9 p.m. rounded the ———<sup>2</sup> and hauled in for the Brothers. Being under cartel colours, the captain of the port came on board, with a Captain Berry (an Irishman), and after mustering the French prisoners, left a pilot in charge with the latter gentleman—a sort of spy, as we thought. Anchored abreast of the Brothers in eleven fathoms. At 2 p.m. weighed, and began to warp the ship into port, the pilot's boats being worked by slaves, carried out the hawsers, &c. Captain Le Blanc insisted on the slaves being fed the same as our men, contrary to the wishes of the more savage pilot, who said any 'raw' was good enough for a *chien de nègre*.

At 10 p.m. warped in close to the French national frigate Piémontaise, of 44 guns, Captain

<sup>1</sup> Commanding the Company's ship Marquis of Exeter.

<sup>2</sup> Blank in MS.

Epron, and Charles Moreau, the first lieutenant. They had just captured—21st June, 1806—and brought into the port the old H.C.S. Warren Hastings, Captain Larkins, who had been in person brutally treated by Moreau.<sup>1</sup>

19<sup>th</sup>.—In the morning they moored us all fours between the frigate on the starboard bow and Kyan<sup>2</sup> (guard-ship) on the larboard quarter. Mr. Ambrose, (our second officer) found here a brother, prisoner of war, who had leave to come on board with an orderly. We knew nothing yet of the port regulations, [and] sent this gentleman for the shore again just as eight bells p.m. struck; when, as the boat shoved off, Moreau hailed, and made her go to the frigate; then took Ambrose's brother and the crew and made them prisoners for the night, for being after time. He said they had violated the rules of the place. Next morning they were sent on board the guard-ship, when, after a communication with Monsieur Monestrolle (town mayor), the boat and crew were released and returned to the ship, [and] Mr. Ambrose sent to the Grand Prison up the Black Rivière.

21<sup>st</sup>.—This morning H.M. frigate Greyhound, Captain Troubridge, appeared off the port with a flag of truce, when a flag of truce was sent from the shore to communicate. Captain Troubridge was anxious to know if the admiral his father was detained there a prisoner, or any intelligence of the Blenheim. We believed none could be given, when the Greyhound put to sea again to the westward for the Cape.

Observed small craft were frequently passing in and out to the Mozambique and Madagascar, for slaves and cattle.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. James, iv, 149-54.

<sup>2</sup> So in MS.

The Holstein, Danish Indiaman, came in ; was condemned, and the Warren Hastings (purchased in the name of the Danish Company) taken in her place. [She was] afterwards recaptured by the English at Surampore, the Danish settlement in Bengal, and the old hooker taken into our Company's service again, and I became chief mate of her. Two or three other Danish vessels came in from Tranquebar. The Governor, De Caen, soon decided on not letting us sail or move till after the frigate ; yet the place was almost in a state of starvation ; they could only supply us with a miserable half allowance of provision, consisting of lumps of turtle and wretched fresh beef ; the other half was made up with bad American salt junk when the ships sailed.

Painted the ship throughout ; repaired sails, and occasionally exercised topgallant and royal yards, morning and evening, without any hands aloft, which rather astonished Johnny Crapaud, particularly Moreau, who in rowing under our stern had his hat knocked off by the fly of our ensign.

*6th August.*—On going on shore this day I beheld a muster of three or four thousand troops and volunteers in the Champ de Mars, a general turn-out from the town ; a motley curious appearance they made—the various different clothing, as well as different ages and heights, &c., &c. Behind all this the mausoleum of old Governor Malartic reared its head in solemn grandeur. I dined with the captain and met a French gentleman, who astonished and disgusted us with his conversation on certain indulgences in Paris. We went to the theatre in the evening, when I made a most foolish mistake ; instead of two dollars, I paid two golden doubloons—8*l.*—for the admission charge.

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15<sup>th</sup>.—Being the anniversary of Bonaparte's coronation, the ships of war fired several salutes, and decorated with flags, the frigate conspicuously placing the English ditto under all. At the same time a grand to-do on shore; the governor parading through the streets in great pomp and show, trampling on the English colours, &c. We took no notice; remained all quiet on board.

31<sup>st</sup>.—Punished Hy. Newcome and Wm. Woolford with two dozen for insolence and disobedience of orders. This day the governor, with his lady and bodyguard, visited the Piémontaise, she having reported all ready for sea. A few days after this Admiral Sercey and lady paid our ship a visit; expressed his approbation of the nice state we were in, &c., &c., but seemed a little disappointed that Captain Le Blanc was not on board to receive him.

3<sup>rd</sup> September.—The frigate cast off, canted and ran out, as well as the Revenant (Surcouf's vessel), of 18 guns, who in dropping down fell on board the frigate and carried away his driver-boom and boat. Shortly got clear, and both made sail to the eastward for India. Full half of Surcouf's ship's company were Englishmen; he took bags of dollars into the prison, and decoyed them on board. It was said, further, that he procured for all of them American protections. Captain Le Blanc afterwards represented this circumstance to Admiral Pellew. During our stay, saw the old Princess Charlotte, Indiaman (taken 18<sup>th</sup> September, 1804), employed as a slave and cattle ship to Madagascar, &c., &c., having regular markets on shore for the former as well as the latter; indeed, I thought they treated their slaves worse than we do our horses, besides flogging morning, noon, and night.

4<sup>th</sup>.—Wm. Newcome, quartermaster, ran from

the ship. I was sent and found him on board an American. However, he ran a second time and escaped being nabbed. A little after we shipped a fine fellow, who had escaped from the prison, fought his way on board, and, secreting himself in an empty butt, prevented discovery to the French authorities, who made a strict search through the ship.

23<sup>rd</sup>.—This evening a brilliant comet was first observed, with a tail, to the northward of the Milky Way, and eastward of the planet Venus, bearing WNW by compass; distinctly seen in the same quarter for many nights following.

9<sup>th</sup> October.—Received orders from the governor to prepare for sailing in twenty-four hours. P.M. Bent courses, topsails, and crossed topgallant and royal yards. Soon had her ready for sea. Next morning a pilot came on board, tripped the stern anchors, and reported the ship all ready for a start.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Captains Le Blanc and Stock joined the ship. Received also some passengers' baggage, and remainder of provisions.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Early this morning an officer brought on board final despatches, when the pilot slipped the bridles and we made all sail, glad enough, out of Port Napoleon for Bengal.

In May 1811, Mr. Addison sailed as 3<sup>rd</sup>, afterwards 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> mate of the Marquis Wellesley, still commanded by Captain Le Blanc. The Journal is principally occupied with the routine of the voyage and personal matters.

*Saugor, 1812, March.*—At this time there was great emulation in the fleet for having the ships in smart and crack order; also among the third officers to exhibit the like between decks, such as a handsome armoury round the steerage, panels of the

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capstan polished bright, as well as all the hatch bars and locks, guns all run out level, clean painted and clear, range of the sheet cable neatly triced up to the deck, and cleanliness of the decks such as one might eat off from fore and aft. The grand show generally on a Sunday.

*29th March.*—P.M. A lieutenant from H.M. frigate *Clorinde* came on board, in consequence of receiving a letter from six men who volunteered, and whom he took out of the ship [two quartermasters and four a.b.'s.] As soon as this circumstance became known to Admiral Pellew, finding we had given up the regular quota of men (according to Act of Parliament), [he] sent immediate and express orders by H.M. frigate *Psyche* to Captain Briggs, of the *Clorinde*, who had taken specie round to China, to give up and return those men as soon as possible; adding, should we have left the country before they reached us, he must forward them home by the first conveyance. They were sent round in the *Terpsichore* and rejoined us at Trincomalee in March 1813. They seemed not to like coming on board again, for which Mr. Cleland (then acting chief), most unjustly, in my own opinion (as I gave at the time), punished them all on the instant with two dozen each, even before the lieutenant had quitted the ship who came with them.

In 1829, Mr. Addison was second mate of the Company's ship *Lowther Castle*, 1,428 tons, Captain George K. Bathie. His account of an early visit to Hong Kong and Cowloon is interesting.

*1829, 10th December.*—At noon, brought up in 10 fms., with the squadron, in Hong Kong Harbour or Bay, the high peak bearing from our ship SSW  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. During our stay here Mr. Lindsay and other factory gentlemen, with Captain Glasspoole,

came down a day or two on board of us for shooting. The first sally on shore was a large party, Commodore Haviside at the head with one hundred sailors armed with muskets, tomahawks, and pikes. The commodore, who could only use one arm, slipped down a ravine into a hole, and disappeared, till his black attendant fished him up, luckily unhurt. The tigers, if any, are very few ; a deer was seen by some of the party ; a few partridges, paddy birds, jungle fowl, &c., were all we got.

16<sup>th</sup>.—Captain Bathie left the ship for Macao ; flogged Joseph Lowe with two dozen for disobedience and insolence to Mr. Barton, 4th officer.

21<sup>st</sup>.—Unbent all sails. About this time I was so fortunate to shoot a woodcock, the only bird of the kind seen here, which I brought home ; likewise a Chinese partridge.

Doctor Lister and myself frequently cruised about in a little boat (built on board for the use of the officers), exploring among the different islands for shells, coral, carrying our guns to shoot any birds or animals that came in the way. At last we discovered Cowloon, rather a large town. This place was formerly the stronghold or principal refuge of the *ladrones* (pirates), a set of outcasts banished for crimes and misdemeanours, [who] became very numerous and powerful, and eventually established a blue-button mandarin independent government of their own, making dreadful war and havoc upon the mother country, nearly up to the city of Canton, till the viceroy was glad to compromise and make peace with them, which I find has continued ever since. We found the natives here particularly quiet and civil ; they showed us over the town and fort. In the latter place we saw two mandarin officers smoking opium, sitting in a small room, half naked on a couch, with a lighted lamp between them and one



pipe, each taking a whiff or two alternately, till the senses were lost in stupor and inability to move. The guns in this fort were old rusty things, most likely plundered from some vessel. On saluting a mandarin, three discharges are requisite; a little moistened gunpowder blown off under the muzzles of these pieces has the effect of being fired from them. Plenty of teal, geese, and all sorts of wild fowl in this neighbourhood. The commodore (Haviseide) rigged out a small boat in the shape of a goose. Himself and another, stowed in the inside, had good sport.

# SEIZURE OF HELGOLAND

1807



## INTRODUCTORY

THE following is the official correspondence relating to the seizure of Helgoland in 1807. Vice-Admiral Thomas Macnamara Russell was, at the time, commander-in-chief of the squadron in the North Sea. Mr. Edward Thornton, afterwards ambassador in Portugal and G.C.B., was minister to the Hanse Towns and resident at Hamburg; he was the father of the present Sir Edward Thornton, G.C.B., formerly ambassador at St. Petersburg and at Constantinople.

Although so easily effected that it is dismissed by James, in his 'Naval History,' in half a page, the seizure of this island had an enormous influence on the future course of the war. Helgoland, in fact, became, as Mr. Thornton predicted, 'a magazine of merchandise to be conveyed in small vessels to the Continent,' and in our hands proved a most formidable weapon against Napoleon's 'Continental blockade.'

In the opinion of many who considered the question only in its naval bearings, the recent surrender of the island to Germany was extremely injudicious. But political reasons, which existed at the time, were presumably held to be more cogent than naval contingencies which might never come into existence. However that may have been, it is highly probable that, should we ever be involved in war with Germany, it might become necessary for us to reoccupy the island; though as—since its cession—it has been strongly fortified and sufficiently garrisoned, the operation can scarcely, at any future time, be the simple matter which Russell found it in 1807.



## SEIZURE OF HELGOLAND, 1807

*VICE-ADMIRAL RUSSELL TO THE SECRETARY  
OF THE ADMIRALTY*

Majestic, off the Texel,  
2nd September, 1807, at noon.

Sir,—I beg you will be pleased to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I have this moment, in consequence of information received from Lord Viscount Falkland,<sup>1</sup> that the Court of Denmark had on the 17th ultimo declared war against us, sent him the Lynx and Sparkler, to assist in cutting off all supplies of stores and provisions from Helgoland, until I thus humbly submit to their lordships the great utility of taking possession of that island, under the existing state of continental politics. So strongly, Sir, am I impressed with the propriety of this measure that, had I any force to spare, I should immediately take it, with the hope that I should thereby anticipate their lordships' intentions.

I am, Sir, with great respect, your obedient humble servant,

T. M. RUSSELL, Vice-Admiral.

The Hon. William Wellesley Pole.

*Minute.* — 7th September. Own receipt and approve.

<sup>1</sup> Captain of the 32-gun frigate Quebec.

## MINUTE OF THE COUNCIL

It was agreed that the Government had adopted the suggestion, and that the necessary measures should be taken.

### MINUTE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ROYAL CHURCH OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN

LONDON, 15th August 1807.

Sir— I have the honor of receiving your letter of the 10th inst. containing Mr. Canning's commands to communicate the news in writing upon receipt of the same. I have and I hasten to obey them.

There were some minor points relative to this enterprise, but they have been settled, its practicability has been ascertained, and it is now being accomplished.

The island of the rock, consisting of the rock which bears the name of the small island called Sander Island (this latter is a small uninhabited island), contains about two or three thousand inhabitants, who are mostly occupied in fishing and in the piloting of vessels coming to and from the ports of the North Sea. Their subsistence is derived from the fishing and from the necessaries of life brought back by the fishing vessels from the ports in the different parts of the North Sea, the Elder Elbe, and Weser, on the same coast has scarcely any production. It is clear and plain that it must necessarily be the first summons of any maritime force, however small, because the mere presence of that force would put an immediate stop to the occupations of the inhabitants, and cut off all the means of their subsistence. The rock is garrisoned by a small number of Danish soldiers with an officer (I was told about five-and-twenty men), and I have no account, nor is it indeed

Part II. sent to Vice-Admiral Russell.

probable that their store of provisions is at all considerable. There are two or three cannon mounted at one end of the rock, which have been hitherto used for the purposes of signals rather than with any view to defence, and much less to offensive operations. There is little doubt, therefore, that the appearance of an English gun-brig would immediately determine the inhabitants to surrender ; but a vessel that could throw shells into the town (which is on the rock) would put the surrender, it appears to me, beyond all question. After disarming the militia (composed, as I understand, of about 180 men), and this more for the sake of avoiding disturbance than from any apprehensions of plots or conspiracies, it would be necessary to have a garrison of from 50 to 100 soldiers or marines, with an officer, who should not interfere in the civil government of the island. On this last point I would take the liberty to recommend that its internal government should be continued as it exists at present without any alteration, that the gains of the inhabitants, either from their fisheries or their pilotage, should be given up to them without tax or defalcation] ; and that if any civil officer (independent of the commander of his Majesty's ships) should be named for the purpose of internal regulations, he should be a person acquainted with the language and customs of the inhabitants, and should, among other points, establish a fixed and moderate tariff for the carriage to the Continent, in the Helgoland boats, either of passengers, goods, or letters, as circumstances may require ; the people of the island being in the habit of making exorbitant charges according to the pressure of circumstances or the exigencies of the season.

In the present state of things, Helgoland is a point of essential importance to his Majesty's Government for preserving the communication by



letters between Great Britain and the Continent. If there should be any room to apprehend that the Danes themselves would attempt to interrupt or thwart this communication, were it conducted openly and by the king's packet-boats, it might be perhaps advisable to despatch the mails in bye-boats or fishing vessels to Helgoland, from whence they might be taken into other (Blankenese or small) boats up the Elbe to Hamburg or Altona. Otherwise the king's packet-boats might convey the letters to Helgoland, from whence the agent established there could transmit them in small vessels to Hamburg. But this is only one of the advantages to be derived from Helgoland. By its position and great elevation, compared with the low, shoaly, and dangerous coast of the North Sea, it is absolutely necessary for every vessel bound to or from the Hever,<sup>1</sup> Eider, Elbe, Weser, and Jahde rivers to make the island of Helgoland; so that men-of-war stationed or cruising off it can as effectually secure the blockade of these rivers, against large vessels at least, as if they were at anchor in the mouths or them. I am not sure that this does not extend even to vessels bound to the Ems (at least from the north); but for the former rivers it is indisputably the case. Ships sailing from the Sound down the North Sea and through the channel, or returning towards the North Sea, if they would wish to avoid approaching too near the east coast of England, must necessarily likewise make the island; but on this point mariners are no doubt more accurately informed. Any squadron of the king's ships could regulate from hence the blockade of the principal rivers of the North Sea, if such a measure shall be thought advisable; and I must beg his Majesty's

<sup>1</sup> The port is Husum.

Government to remark, that if hostilities should be continued with Denmark, it will be perhaps necessary to establish a most rigorous system of blockade against the port of Tönning and the Eider, because the river, being united to the Baltic by the canal of Kiel, offers the only *débouché* for the naval stores and other productions of the Russian and Baltic ports, as long as the navigation of the Sound and of the Belts is obstructed by the British cruisers.

There are some other uses to which the island of Helgoland might be applied, such as forming a *depôt* of provisions for the king's ships, a magazine of merchandise to be conveyed in small vessels to the Continent; but these points will become more properly an object of consideration when the nature and the advantages of the acquisition have been better ascertained by an actual possession.

I have had already the honour of making to Mr. Canning in conversation the substance of the preceding observations; but should there be any other specific object to which he would wish to direct my remarks, and of which I am not at present aware, I will most readily contribute all the information of which I am possessed.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

EDWARD THORNTON.

*RUSSELL TO THE SECRETARY OF THE  
ADMIRALTY*

Majestic, North Sea, lat.  $53^{\circ} 2'$ , long.  $3^{\circ} 7' E.$   
3rd September, 1807, at noon.

Sir,—Be pleased to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that at ten this morning I received by the British Fair, from Vice-Admiral Douglas, your *most secret* letter, enclosing a description of the island of Helgoland, with its force and

utility to us at this time, together with a despatch marked *secret* and addressed to Lord Viscount Falkland, which I instantly transmitted to his Lordship by the same vessel.

Having by a letter from Vice-Admiral Douglas learnt that the Explosion, with the *Wanderer* and *Exertion*, had sailed from Yarmouth yesterday and that, had I been present, it was their Lordships' intention I should carry the orders they were under into execution, I only waited to give chase to the vessels to windward, to make out whether they may not be the bomb and her consorts, to steer away for Helgoland, on the presumption they are destined for the capture of that island.

I am [&c.] T. M. RUSSELL

*Minute.*—7th September. Own receipt.

*RUSSELL TO THE SECRETARY OF THE  
ADMIRALTY*

Majestic, off Helgoland.  
6th September, 1867.

Sir,—I beg you will be pleased to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I arrived at this island and anchored close to the town on the 4th instant, at half-past 2 P.M., but did not, as I expected, find the Explosion, the *Wanderer*, or the *Exertion*, with the hundred marines, here, with which their Lordships had intended to reinforce me.

Having found that Lord Falkland had, with his usual zeal and promptness, summoned this garrison on the 30th ultimo, and that his proposals were rejected by the governor, I was making my arrangements to storm him with the marines and seamen of the squadron if he did not instantly surrender, for at this time, the value of this island to us is immense.

At 6 P.M., however, he sent out a flag of truce, desiring that an officer may be sent in the morning to treat on the articles of capitulation ; and I accordingly at daylight yesterday morning despatched Lord Viscount Falkland and Lieutenant D'Auvergne (first of this ship) on that service.

But fearing lest the governor should procrastinate, from the natural hope that so large a ship could not long continue so close to the town, I sent him a summons as true as it was strong, with the intention of depriving him of any hopes from resistance or delay.

At 2 P.M. the deputation returned with the articles of capitulation, which I immediately ratified.

The regulars, which were invalids, I shall send (minutely described) to Altona, under the injunction of not serving against Great Britain or her allies during this war, and have ordered that all the militiamen, amounting to about 500, who shall take the oaths of allegiance, may retain their arms.

With a small expense this island may be made a little Gibraltar, and a safe haven for small craft, even in the winter ; it is a key to the rivers Ems, Weser, Jahde, Elbe, and Eider ; the only asylum at present for our cruisers in these seas, and at present our only medium of correspondence with the Continent.

I have appointed Lieutenant D'Auvergne as acting governor, until their lordships' pleasure is known ; and I beg leave to add that from his perfect knowledge of both services, his zeal and loyalty and a high sense of honour, I know no seaman more competent to the trust.

With this I enclose copies of my summons to the governor of Helgoland, of my instructions to Lord Viscount Falkland, of my order to Lieutenant D'Auvergne, and the original articles of capitulation.

c c

lation ; and I shall as soon as possible send an account of the prisoners, a list of ordnance, naval and other stores found here.

I am [&c.] T. M. RUSSELL

*Minute.*—September 7th. Acquaint Vice-Admiral Russell their lordships approve of the zeal he has shown upon this occasion, and of the arrangements he has made.

## MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS

CC 2



## INTRODUCTORY

THE following letters are strictly miscellaneous, though they are strung together in chronological order.

Additional MS. 4164 in the British Museum is one of many manuscript volumes which formerly belonged to Dr. Thomas Birch (*d.* 1766), 'historian and biographer,' a dull and wearisome though painstaking writer, but also an indefatigable collector and transcriber of letters and papers—some verbally, others in abstract; 4164 is a volume of such transcripts, and the letters here given from it are virtually attested by him as genuine.

The interest of Vernon's letter (No. 1) mainly lies in the fact of its being the familiar letter of a man who, with all his faults, was the greatest sea officer of his time, though fate, by shackling him to an ignorant and obstinate block-head, did what it could to cloud his fame and ruin his prospects. No doubt he had an unruly tongue, and said many things which he had better have kept to himself; but no one can read his many pamphlets, his speeches in Parliament, or his despatches from the West Indies or in the North Sea, without being convinced that, in the fleet, he was an able commander, and that, at home, he worked strenuously for the good of the service and to ameliorate the condition of the seaman. Of his public and professional career, any one that chooses may read the whole story; but of his private life very little indeed is known, and, that being the case, I have thought it well to bring forward this one familiar letter to his wife—the only one I have seen—written just at the time when his public letter, dated on the following day, happened, quite unintentionally on Vernon's part, to make April fools on a larger scale than ever before or since.

Captain Mostyn's letter (No. 2), which follows Vernon's, is introduced especially to show that there was at this time



no ill-feeling between him and the admiral. It is difficult for any one, reading the minutes of the court-martial on Mostyn in 1745 and Vernon's criticisms on them, to avoid the conclusion that Mostyn was really guilty of a very serious error of judgment. That, in spite of dockyard opinion, he was not a coward, may be held to be proved by the fact that he preserved Boscawen's friendship to the last. 'Old Dreadnought' was not the man to select from the whole navy a coward for his friend and colleague.

The letter of John Cathcart (No. 3) is interesting as showing that discontent with Wentworth was not confined to the navy. Though not a soldier, Mr. Cathcart's immediate sympathies must have been with the soldiers; but even Captain Knowles's condemnation of the general's conduct is scarcely more severe than Cathcart's. There appears reason to believe that the 'Superintendent-General of the sick and wounded of the army under Lord Cathcart' was a kinsman—if only a Scotch cousin—of the general whose untimely death brought myriads of woes to the English.

Of Lieutenant Jacobs (No. 4) nothing is known beyond the registry of his name in the Navy List, as a lieutenant of 13th April, 1741. He does not seem to have attained any higher rank, and may perhaps be supposed to have retired from the service and settled in America. Captain Rous, with whom he was serving in the *Success*, was a New Englander, and, if Jacobs was not, his sympathies were certainly colonial.

The letter and narrative (No. 5) which immediately follow these are from a contemporary copy, which has been put at my disposal by Mr. C. M. Scrimgeour, M.A. of Glasgow, to whom it was given several years ago by a lady living near Pittenweem, who accidentally came across it in a box of old-time papers. It is an interesting corroboration of the incident of which I wrote five-and-twenty years ago:<sup>1</sup>—

'On September 16, as Jones's squadron was in with the coast of Fife, under English colours, a boat came off from a gentleman of the neighbourhood to ask for some

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Naval History*, pp. 394-5.

powder and shot to defend himself against "the expected visit of the pirate, Paul Jones." Jones, in the quality of a king's officer, sent him a polite message and a barrel of powder, regretted that he had no shot of the size wanted, and had taken the liberty of keeping one of his boatmen as a pilot.'

The account which Paton gives of the fight has, clearly, no particular value; he didn't see the fight, and it is at least probable that his informant didn't see it. It is, for instance, pretty certain that what he says about the ships being unmanageable after the first broadside is not true; the evidence to hand is conclusive to the contrary. But for the incidents before the fight, and after the release of the prisoners, his narrative is personal, and may, I think, be accepted. It seems to be that of an honest man writing in good faith.

Mr. Beaver, the writer of letters Nos. 6, 7, 8, and at their date a lieutenant of the *Monarch* (Captain John Elphinstone), which had just come home from the Cape of Good Hope, where she had been the flagship of Lord Keith, was at this time in his thirty-second year, and therefore quite competent to form an opinion on the state of things around him. In the following year he was again with Keith in the Mediterranean, was promoted to the rank of commander on 19th June, 1799, and appointed additional to the flagship; was posted on 10th February, 1801, and served through the Egyptian campaign as Keith's flag-captain. He afterwards commanded the 40-gun frigate *Acasta* in the West Indies, and the *Nisus*, of 38 guns, in the East Indies, at the reduction of Mauritius in November 1810, and the conquest of Java, August and September 1811. On her way home, he died in Table Bay, after a few days' acute illness, on 5th April, 1813.

These letters, written to his sister, the wife of John Gillies, LL.D., known as the author of a 'History of Greece' (2 vols. 4to, 1786) and other historical works, have been kindly put at the disposal of the Society by Beaver's grandsons, Colonels Philip Keith Lonsdale Beaver and Frederick Tyssen Mackinlay Beaver, both of the Royal Artillery.

The letters of Nelson, which follow, need no apology. Those to Morris and Duff (Nos. 9, 36-39) are in the possession of Mr. Vernon Cocks, who has kindly allowed me to copy them for this volume; those to Troubridge (Nos. 10-24, 26-34) are written in the *abandon* of intimate friendship, and may perhaps come as a shock to those who have pictured the hero as 'a plaster saint.' In reality, as the late Admiral Colomb so well pointed out, Nelson never lost the 'aroma' of 'the small-craft midshipman,' and many of his letters (as in the Morrison collection) are exceedingly coarse, much more so than any of these, which are now copied from the originals, by permission of Captain Ernest Troubridge. Many—indeed, most—of them were printed, in November 1888, from a very inaccurate transcript, in the 'Century Magazine,' the editor of which has courteously waived any rights over them which that publication gave him.

The concluding letter (No. 41) almost belongs to the Nelson series. For the use of it I have to thank Dr. T. Law Gaskin, of Barbados, grandson of Benjamin Gaskin, to whom the letter was addressed.

## MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS

1. *VICE-ADMIRAL VERNON TO MRS. VERNON*

[B.M. Add. MS. 4164, fol. 1.]

Princess Caroline, in the Harbour of Cartagena,  
31st March, 1741.

My Dear,—After the glorious success it has pleased Almighty God so wonderfully to favour us with, Whose manifold mercies I hope I shall never be unmindful of, I cannot omit laying hold of the opportunity of an express I am sending home to acquaint you of the joyful news, though in my present hurries I have no leisure to enter into many particulars, but must refer you to the general account I have sent of them to the Secretary of State, when it is thought proper to communicate them to the public.

The Spanish Admiral, Don Blas de Lezo, had, I think, made as fine a disposition for a defence as ever was made, having from their forts, batteries, and ships, above 200 pieces of cannon, to play upon any ship entering, all within the compass of a mile. But I think the bully Don was far from making a suitable defence.

The first attack was by three of my 80-gun ships on the forts of St. Jago and St. Philip, lying without Boca Chica castle, to secure a descent; and we drove the enemy out of them in less than an hour, and secured a descent to the army, and without their

having so much as a single musket-shot fired at them. And my gallant sailors twice stormed and took two batteries on the opposite side of the harbour ; the one of fifteen, the other of five 24-pounders, which the general complained of to me galled his army ; they having remounted guns and repaired it after our first destroying it, as it lay well to play on our land battery.

On the propitious 25th March, the day I took charge, the general sent me word he intended to storm Boca Chica castle ; upon which, before the time he proposed, I sent all my boats manned and armed to land at those destroyed batteries a third time, for making a diversion on that side, to favour their storming it. But the enemy was under such consternation, that our troops marched into the castle over the breach without having a single shot fired at them, and about ten at night my gallant sailors stormed St. Joseph's fort without the ceremony of a breach, from whence, all the first of the night, the enemy had been firing partridge-shot at our men through the bushes, but with little injury to them ; but they would not stand the assault, but deserted the fort, leaving only three drunken Spaniards behind them. Flushed with this success, my officers finding the Spaniards burning and sinking their ships, part of the boats were detached, to try what could be saved ; and they boarded and took the Spanish admiral's ship, the *Gallicia*, with the flag flying, and in her the captain of the ship, the captain of the marines, an ensign, and 60 men, who, not having boats to escape, gave us the opportunity of saving this ship, which they had orders to sink likewise. Besides the admiral's ship taken, of 70 guns, they burnt the *St. Philip*, of 80 guns, and sunk the *St. Carlos* and *Africa*, of 60 guns each, across the channel ; and they have this day sunk

the Conquistador and Dragon, of 60 guns each, the only remaining men-of-war here, as they have done all the galleons and other vessels lying above Castillo Grande, near five leagues higher up the harbour.

I have only time to add, it has pleased Almighty God to preserve me in good health, to go through all these glorious fatigues, and in a full disposition to push this beginning with all possible vigour, to humble the proud Spaniards, and bring them to repentance for all the injuries and long-practised depredations on us.

I have only time to send you my sincerest love and affection for you and blessing to our dear boys ; and with services to all our good neighbours, and honest Will Fisher,

I am, my dearest,  
Your most affectionate husband,  
E. VERNON.

P.S.—The enemy's consternation is so great, that our advanced guard observing they were deserting Castillo Grande, gave notice of it to Sir Chaloner Ogle, who was advanced nearest them ; who ordered them immediately to advance, and made the signal for the boats, who have this morning entered Castillo Grande ; and his Majesty's colours are now (God be praised for it) flying there.

P.S.—*1st April*.—I am now at anchor close under Castillo Grande, and have all Cartagena open to my view, and I hope to clear my way through their sunken ships, to entertain them with a bombardment to-night.

Last night I had the most agreeable pleasure of having brought me from Jamaica your letter of the 20th November, which to me was the most welcome news to hear of your being in good health ; and I am infinitely obliged to the uncommon honours

done me at Ipswich, and you must make my compliments and thanks to all friends.

By the same occasion I had a letter from Captain Mostyn,<sup>1</sup> who being at sea cannot write himself, but I send his letter inclosed, that the good ladies may know he is well, and has lately taken two prizes; and pray make them my compliments, and assure them that he shall not want no civility I can show them. And pray, my thanks to my nephew Brooke, whom I have not time to write to, but let him know Mr. Bacon is well, as is Mr. Bishop, whom I have lately made a purser.

2. CAPTAIN S. MOSTYN TO VICE-ADMIRAL VERNON

[Enclosed in preceding, *ibid.* fol. 4.]

Deptford, off the River Magdalena, 30th March, 1741.

Sir,—I take the opportunity, by the Jane, of Jamaica, to acquaint you that I got off of Sta. Marta the 27th, and looked into the port. There was then lying there two ships; one of them Dutch-built, of about 300 tons, her yard and topmast struck, but her sails bent and top-gallant yard across; the other is an English-built ship, of about

<sup>1</sup> Four years later, when Mostyn had been acquitted by a court-martial for his conduct in command of the Hampton Court and Dreadnought in presence of two French ships, Neptune and Fleuron, a clever and searching though acrimonious criticism of the proceedings and sentence was published under the title, '*An Enquiry into the conduct of Captain Mostyn, being remarks on the minutes of the court-martial, and other incidental matters.*' Humbly addressed to the Honourable House of Commons by a Sea Officer.' If this was written by Vernon—as is, indeed, pretty certain—the present reference to him and his family seems to show that, if he did 'nothing extenuate,' he did not, at any rate, 'set down aught in malice.'

200 tons, her yard and topmast struck, her sails bent; the ship very light. I think three ships might very well destroy the place, and take the ships out. I was this morning as far to windward as Sta. Marta, but this sloop at night came to leeward.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,  
S. MOSTYN.

3. MR. JOHN CATHCART TO MR. JOHN HANBURY<sup>1</sup>

[Ibid. fol. 5.]

Cartagena Harbour, in the Lynn, 24th April, 1741.

Sir,—I refer to my last of the 31st after our taking possession of the forts that defend the mouth of this harbour. Then we were in certain expectation of being soon masters of the town; to execute which 5,800 of our army were safely landed within two miles of it, meeting but with small resistance from the enemy. You'll please observe that our ships could be of no service in reducing the town, not having water enough to come near it; therefore it depended upon our army to make themselves masters of a fort, called St. Lazaro, situated on a small hill above the town, and commanding it. Some days after the landing, it was resolved in a council of land officers, in which those of the navy did not assist, to attack this fort without making any regular approaches to it or breaches in it. We are told that Brigadiers Blakeney and Wolfe, men of great experience, were against this; the first insisting upon leave to enter a signed protest against it, which he did. However, they unhappily put it in execu-

<sup>1</sup> A Virginia merchant and prominent stockholder in the Ohio Company, said to have been much in the confidence of the Duke of Newcastle (Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. 196).



tion; and though our men behaved like lions, yet they were repulsed with great loss—above 640 killed and wounded, and the army so fatigued with severe service that much sickness ensued.

I have not time or patience to tell you more particulars of this unhappy affair—I won't give it a worse name; and therefore I shall only add that the army is re-embarked, all care taken of our sick and wounded, and we are in a day or two to sail for Jamaica.

Yours,

JOHN CATHCART,  
Superintendent-General of the sick and  
wounded of the army under Lord Cathcart.

4. *LIEUT. WM. JACOBS TO MR. SPILLMAN*<sup>1</sup>

(*Extract.*)

[B.M. Additional MS. 4164, fol. 33.]

1754, 10th September.—[They sailed from Annapolis to look into St. John's Harbour, which lies on the left side of the Bay of Fundy or north going up to Chinecto, and arrived there the next day, and saw a fair new fort lately built by the French in the English ground, and in one of the best countries for beaver which the French have got. They then returned to Halifax to winter.]

The winter there begins in the latter end of October, and continues till April, and sometimes part of May, and is very severe. The snow is generally four feet thick, and frozen so hard that people do the same work upon it with their horses

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Edward Spelman. In copying this letter, Dr. Birch abstracted a good deal of it, without clearly indicating when he was abstracting, when transcribing. What seems to me abstract only is now given in square brackets.

as if on firm ground ; and the ice in the basin of Halifax, which is higher up than the harbour, is commonly six feet thick. But I have observed, where I have been, that in the parallels of the latitude of  $44^{\circ}$  N. it is excessively hot in the summer and extremely cold in the winter, such as the cities of Genoa, Venice, Constantinople, &c. ; and in this place we cannot fit the ships out for the sea till April.

The chief trade which Halifax has as yet is a little fish, which might be increased if it were not for the laziness and drunkenness of the inhabitants.

*17th April.*—We sailed for Boston, the metropolis of New England, and the largest city of North America, as large as Greenwich and Deptford put together. It is built of wood. It once flourished, but now its trade goes to decay very fast, for the merchants frequently break. I apprehend it is chiefly owing to their high way of living. It is no uncommon thing to [see] at a shopkeeper's table seven or eight dishes, when one would be sufficient.

[When they arrived at Boston Harbour they found the army almost in readiness for the ensuing expedition, and waiting only for the arms and money for <sup>1</sup> London.]

*22nd May.*—A ship arrived with 5,000 small arms, and soon after another with 10,000*l.* in specie. [Upon this they sailed from Boston with 31 transports, having on board 1,600 New England troops for Annapolis Royal, there to join some regulars. In about five days they sailed up the Bay of Fundy, and anchored that night in sight of the French fort. The next day all the transports and storeships weighed and sailed up to an English fort, and landed their army. Here they were joined by

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. A transcriber's error for 'from.'

the rest of the regulars, in all 400 men, exclusive of 50 belonging to the train of artillery.] The army had with it three mortars, one of 13 inches bore, one of 8 inches, and one of 10 inches; and fourteen pieces of cannon, six 24-pounders, eight 18-pounders; three months' provisions of all kinds. It was as well provided an army as had appeared in the field for many years, and its train was sufficient for an army of 12,000 men.

*7th June.*—The whole army, under the command of Colonel Monckton, marched from Fort Lawrence towards the French fort, though slowly, through bad ways, and the artillery being dragged by the soldiers' hands.

Fort Lawrence, called so from the Lieutenant-Governor of Halifax, is at present a place of no strength. It stands a little upon a rising ground near a river; and is nothing but a place picketed round with double piles or posts, and has in it a few guns mounted, with barracks and storehouses, and lodgings for the officers. The garrison, at most, never consisted of more than 300 men. It is almost within gunshot of the French fort, which, as it stands high, may with long guns reach and command it. But ours was built first, and the French took care to build theirs so as to command and annoy ours.

It was about 14 days after the army's landing before they began to act. Our troops were prodigiously fatigued, having nothing to lie on but the ground, and sometimes heavy rains. There was always two-thirds of the army on duty, and the rest had but little quiet. But the New England troops are a very hardy people, and very religious; and in their greatest anger the hottest word is 'I vow and swear it is so-and-so.'

*16th June.*—Beau Séjour delivered on articles.

It was built seven years ago, under the command of Monsieur Shambovry,<sup>1</sup> Knight of St. Louis. The country about it is full of wood, but far from being mountainous.

25th June.—[They sailed for St. John's Harbour, and arrived the next day there; but soon after, Lieutenant Jacobs saw the fort there on fire; upon which Captain Rous went on shore the next morning, and a canoe with two Indians came off, who informed them that] on sight of the English boats the French governor thought the English were coming to storm the fort, and begged the Indians to assist him, who were about 100 men. But they told him that he had deceived the Indians so often that they would not assist him; and the French had used them ill, which caused the commandant to do as he did, and afterwards march out with his garrison, which was about 50 regulars. He had no occasion whatever to be frightened at my coming, for I<sup>2</sup> had a written order in my pocket not to fire a single shot without they fired at me first.

[This fort was rather smaller than that at Chinecto, but more regularly built. Its walls were built with sods of earth, and 16 feet thick.]

The Indians, as soon as Captain Rous came ashore, took up their handfuls of musket-balls which lay near the fire, and threw them into the sea, swearing that they would never fire against the English any more, and that what they had done was through the means of Father Le Loutre, an inveterate French Jesuit, and a missionary among the savages. But how long these promises will last I do not know, for it is hard trusting; for what

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. The name cannot be identified. Actually the fort was built in 1750 by the Chevalier de la Corne.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Jacobs was sent on shore to receive the surrender.

they say is through poverty and want, though the French do not use them well.

This setting the French fort on fire has eased our army of a great deal of trouble as well as expense, for it stands the Government in 500*l.* a day. I mention this from a gentleman who has seen the account, including the charges of the transports and provisions.

The more nasty the Indians of St. John's are, the more they are in the mode. But, if I judge right, they are obliged to rub their skins with bear's grease, train oil, and other filthy ingredients, in order to keep from them the sting of the mosquitoes, which in a manner cloud the sun. The religion of this people is the Roman Catholic, and their dress European, when they can get it; but the French can never get them in the mind to wear breeches, but a blanket round their waists.

The Indian way of fighting (I mean of those in the French interest) is all hedge or bush fire. They never will face the English in plain ground; and, if they do, they lie upon their bellies or sides, and load, for they never will stand up like regulars.

The New England troops always engage after the same manner. In the last war, when Louisbourg was taken by Sir William Pepperell and Sir Peter Warren, our Americans acted the same way, and would get behind a stump of a tree, a great stone, or a rock, and there fire at the French. Upon the battery there could not a man appear at the guns, but what they were sure to have; so that none at last could appear near the embrasures but were sure of being knocked down. For the New England troops always load their firelocks upon their backs, and then turn upon their bellies, and then take aim at their enemies. There are no

better marksmen in the world, for their sole delight is shooting at marks for wagers.

There is one thing in this part of the world, and that is the unkind behaviour of the regulars to the irregulars. Most of the officers are men of fortune in New England, and have left their estates to serve their king and country. The resentment has run so high that I believe the New England troops will not serve nor join the regulars any more ; and perhaps will not serve at all, which will be a great loss to the Government ; for the Americans are a brave, honest people. I do not pretend to say whose fault it is ; but this is certain, it ought to be looked into, as these troops are all volunteers no longer than for a year.

5. *ANDREW PATON TO SIR JOHN ANSTRUTHER  
OF ELIE, BART.*

Pittenweem, 6th January, 1780.

Good Sir,—I take the liberty to trouble you with a sketch of my remarks while I have been with Paul Jones. If your Honour thinks the lords of the Admiralty would make me any consideration for the hardships I have undergone and the loss my family has sustained by my absence from my business in getting their bread, besides the money taken up to support me abroad, I humbly submit this to your Honour, and beg the favour you will take the trouble to apply for me as you may see proper. I am with the greatest regard, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW PATON.

N.B.—You would hear of 40 men belonging to Jones that attempted to escape at the Texel by

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running a vessel ashore. I was in that number; we got on a bank, where I remained till retaken; some swam ashore, some [were] drowned, some were shot, and the bulk retaken; it was a dangerous attempt, but I was ready for anything, either to lose my life, or make it in some shape more comfortable; for here I was naked, eat up with vermin, and by cold got a disorder in my leg and foot that it was proposed to have it cut off; however, it is now pretty well recovered, and I thank God for getting so well clear, and my safe return home.

Remarks by Andrew Paton, pilot in Pittenweem, from the 16th September, 1779, when he went on board of Paul Jones's ship, until the 21st November following, when he made his escape from the said Jones in the Texel.

16th September, 6 a.m.—Saw five<sup>1</sup> sail betwixt Isle of May and the south shore; a small air of wind westerly. At 9 the wind shifted to the SE. I was sent off by the magistrates of Pittenweem with a letter to the commander of the Oughton tender, and to learn, if possible, what the ships were to the offing. Was told on board the Oughton they suspected them to be enemies. Returned at eleven with this account to the magistrates. Through the day the weather very moderate; wind shifting often. At 4 p.m. went off to speak the headmost and largest ship. When went alongside saw a boat manned by her quarter. The officers appeared in

<sup>1</sup> There were only three in Jones's squadron at this time, viz. the Bonhomme Richard, Pallas, and Vengeance. Two accidental ships may have been supposed to belong to it.

British uniform, and all the men that at first appeared upon deck looked to be British, both from dress and speech ; I could have taken her for a ship in the Government's service, but not for an English man-of-war, as she had not the look of such. I was asked if had any fish ; replied, I did not deal in fish. What did I want there ? was the next question ; answered, I was a pilot. Ordered on board, and carried into the great cabin ; was asked the news ashore, and what the people were thinking of their ships ; answered that they took them for French, or Paul Jones, who plundered the Earl of Selkirk last year, and used some women very ill<sup>1</sup> in that part of the country, and had also alarmed our coasts so much this summer that all our towns were entrenched round and full of military. I added that the magistrates had sent me off same morning to the Oughton tender for some powder, which they could not spare. Upon this a cask of powder was ordered to be put into a bag and sent ashore with the boat. At this time I asked the name of the ship at the surgeon, who told me it was the Jupiter ; when I came to sign a receipt for the powder saw it insert the Romney. I asked how the ship had two names, but this they would not answer ; told me to pilot them to Leith, and I should be paid genteelly for my trouble. My boat now sent ashore, and then my protection examined to see if I was a pilot. It was said to be good for an English man-of-war, but it would not protect me from Paul Jones, who, I was told at that time, I was on board of.

I had been asked many questions about the strength of Leith Road, and the town, &c., which I did not answer to their satisfaction ; and before my

<sup>1</sup> I know of no foundation for this report, and am convinced it was false.



boat was half a mile from the ship I was ordered below, with a French sentry over me, where I remained three days under such a guard, without tasting meat or drink. This I impute to having been forgot, because I got plenty afterwards. When I spoke of being put ashore, Jones told me that Britain had carried off pilots from America, and that he would keep me prisoner. I heard amongst the people their intention was to burn Leith, and missing their aim at that place, they wished to destroy Dunbar. I told them it was strongly fortified ; but on this day (17th September) it blew hard, and the commodore sprung his fore topmast giving chase to Captain Brown's cutter, and being thus disabled, and fearing his enterprise would misgive, I take this for the reason of his drawing out of the Firth without attempting any mischief.

*23rd September.*—From the above date to this, nothing material happened, except being joined by a French ship of force.<sup>1</sup> At 4 p.m. discovered a fleet coming in upon the coast of Yorkshire. We were then about six miles from Flamborough Head ; all prisoners put below, [and] about half-past seven an action began which lasted till eleven.

The account I had from the survivors of it was, the first broadside killed forty of Jones's men, and carried away his tiller ; and that from Jones shot away the Serapis's forebraces ; that both ships became ungovernable and fell alongside each other. Jones, with his own hands, made fast the jib stay of the Serapis to his own mizen shrouds, which kept the ships together during the action. Jones's people acknowledged a slaughter of 310 men ; we were all running with blood below the cockpit, and the ship was silenced for a little, when Captain

<sup>1</sup> The Alliance must be meant. She rejoined on the forenoon of the 23rd.

Pearson called if we had struck. Jones answered 'No ;' and he replied, 'Diamond cut diamond,' when to work they went afresh. Jones was so tore up that there was only a little of his ship forward to give any shelter to his men, and there they fled. There was five feet water in the hold. When the guards on the prisoners below ordered us to the deck, those above drove us back, and I was thrice knocked down in the attempt, that it became a doubt if I was to be drowned, shot, or knocked on the head by the sentry. We got up at last, about fifteen minutes before the affair ended. A frigate<sup>1</sup> bore down and fired a broadside into us ;<sup>2</sup> Jones cried he was firing into the wrong ship ; then I believe he did considerable mischief to the *Serapis*, her mainmast going away soon after. There was an attempt to board us, before I was on the deck, and Jones alone was so near being on board the *Serapis* that a marine with a gun at his breast asked what he was ; and he escaped by saying he was an Englishman, and so stepped back into his own ship. At eleven the *Serapis* struck, and a dismal sight was in her of the poor fellows that were blown up with the quarter-deck.<sup>3</sup> I omitted to mention that, before the action, Jones would have had all the prisoners entering upon bounty and good pay. One man did enter and had an arm shot off. I was told that he got a hundred ducats smart money and 25*l.* per annum settled on his wife, payable in Amsterdam.

*24th September.*—This day 11 a.m. the Good-

<sup>1</sup> The Alliance, Captain Landais.

<sup>2</sup> Jones always maintained that this was treacherously done. My impression is that Landais had quite lost his head and was blazing promiscuously into both. Pearson certainly considered him an enemy.

<sup>3</sup> The explosion of cartridges was on the lower deck.

man Richard sunk ; the prisoners and wounded were got out except one or two that could not have lived. From this time we drove about in fine weather ; saw no ships until 4th October—this date we arrived in the Texel, and after this I was prisoner all night, and at liberty all day ; had many pressing offers to enter—15*l.* bounty, boatswain or gunner's berth—but I disdained them all, and on the 21st November made my escape, by the help of a Dutch scout that was shifting stores for Mr. Jones. In it I secreted myself one night and got up to Amsterdam, where I borrowed 3*l.*, went down to Rotterdam, and got a passage to Dundee, where I arrived this day, 5th January, 1780.

6. *LIEUTENANT PHILIP BEAVER TO  
MRS. GILLIES*

Monarch, Portsmouth Harbour, 17th April, 1797.

My dear Kate,—A few days ago, by the ship which brought the late despatches from Admiral Pringle at the Cape, I received your letter of December 1795, enclosing one from Dr. Gillies to Mr. Aberdein, and another from Mr. Aberdein to Sir G. K. Elphinstone. For both of these letters I am much indebted to the doctor, and feel as much obliged to him as I should had they arrived in time to have been of service to me : give him my thanks most sincerely for his goodness.

You have doubtless heard of the situation of the fleet at Spithead. They have, every ship, refused to go to sea till their pay is increased, unless the French fleet should be out ; in which case they are ready and willing to go. The origin of this business I believe to be as follows. After the battle of the 1st June, Lord Howe hinted, if he did not

actually promise, that he would endeavour to get the seamen's pay increased. Though he has been lately the nominal commander of the Grand Fleet, Lord Bridport has always gone to sea with the command of it; and during this time several petitions have been sent from the seamen of the fleet to Lord Howe, requesting this increase of pay. Similar ones were sent by them to the lords of the admiralty, and others I believe to the minister; to none of which have they received any answer; they have all been treated with contemptuous silence.

The other day, on Lord Howe's resignation, Lord Bridport, you know, was appointed admiral of the fleet. When, intending to go to sea, he made the signal to unmoor, every ship's company gave three cheers and refused to go, with the exception before mentioned. They have all, however, excepting one ship only, behaved with great prudence, decency, and moderation (if I may use those terms when speaking of an act of mutiny) in this business; and obey their officers as before in the regular routine of ship's duty—saying that they are not dissatisfied with their officers or the service, but are determined to have an increase of pay, because it has not been increased since the time of Charles the First,<sup>1</sup> and that everything since that period has risen 50 per cent., that no attention had been paid to their petitions, and that on the resignation of Lord Howe they were forced to pursue the present measures.

As an officer, I must condemn their conduct; as a well-wisher to my country, I must regret its being

<sup>1</sup> More correctly of the Commonwealth. In 1652 the seamen's pay was fixed at 24s. for an a.b. and 19s. for an ordinary, per month of twenty-eight days. It was now raised to 29s. 6d. and 23s. 6d. respectively. (Derrick's *Memoirs of the Royal Navy*.)

so exceeding ill-timed ; but as a man, I can find many excuses for them. I could say many things to extenuate their conduct, and I cannot but admire their moderation in so daring an exercise of illegal power, and their patriotism in having so studiously prevented our enemies from conceiving they can derive any advantage from it, by declaring that if their fleets appear at sea, they are ready to follow them. Admiral Pole<sup>1</sup> went yesterday to town on this business, and returned to-day ; he is now at Spithead, but nothing has yet transpired. I trust all will be settled to-morrow. Remember me affectionately to my mother, and believe me

Most sincerely and affectionately yours,  
P. BEAVER.

18th April.

The seamen are making further demands, and things are become very serious. A convention of two deputies from each ship meets every day on board the *Queen Charlotte*. They yesterday suffered a frigate to sail with a convoy, because they said our trade must be protected ; and to-day they have suffered the *Romney* to sail for Newfoundland. They have determined to hang the first man that secedes till all their grievances are redressed. We are out of the scrape by being in the harbour.

P. B.

#### 7. THE SAME TO THE SAME

Monarch, Spithead, 6 p.m. 19th April, 1797.

My dear Kate,—The wind coming fair yesterday after I had written to you, we quitted the harbour

<sup>1</sup> Rear-Admiral Charles Morice Pole, at this time captain of the fleet. He was made a baronet in 1801, and died, admiral of the fleet, in 1830.

and sailed to Spithead. Our people of course joined the crews of the other line-of-battle ships : frigates and sloops they have forbid to interfere in the business, giving as a reason that they were wanted to protect the trade, and that their interests in the meantime would be taken care of by the large ships. Yard ropes are rove by every one of the ships—ropes for the purpose of hanging ; but I believe more with a view towards preventing any of their own party seceding than with an intention of intimidating the officers. All the delegates, of which there are two from every ship, came on board of us this morning and read their petition, the answer to it and all their resolutions. They have demanded nothing but what to every unprejudiced person must appear moderate and just, and they have conducted themselves with a degree of prudence and decency which I thought them incapable of. They recommend and have ordered obedience, as before, to the officers, but firmness in persisting to have their grievances redressed, and will not suffer a line-of-battle ship to sail till that is done. They have been driven to all that they have done by Lord Howe and the Ministry ; and now the Admiralty have been sitting two days at Portsmouth without having finally resolved to do what will and must be forced from them. How much better had they at once come handsomely into the proposals of the seamen ! I fear this for some time will affect our discipline ; but everybody seems loyal, and I doubt not on every occasion will evince their usual courage and patriotism.

I have written to you to-day to prevent any anxiety which you might feel from our being among them, and to prevent your being misled by the slight manner in which this business may be treated by the ministerial prints, or from the exaggerated

accounts which will probably appear in those devoted to the opposition, and shall continue to do so daily if I can find a moment for it, till service reverts to its former channel.

I fear that Lord Spencer and the other lords of the admiralty trifle too much and may make matters worse. If all should not be settled to-morrow, I believe the seamen have intentions of turning all their officers on shore the following day. We now only remain on board and are respected, by their sufferance ; but amidst all their complaints it is some consolation to those officers that there are none of them—except one ship I believe—accused of having wantonly or tyrannically exerted that authority with which they were invested : they complain only of their country, or rather of the admiralty and ministry. I have not had time or would have sent you copies of all their proceedings which were read to-day to our ship's company, but I believe they have ordered them to be printed and distributed on shore, in which case you will see them, and if you do, provided they go no further, you will see much to admire and nothing to condemn. I am told people are much alarmed in town. Tell them there is no reason for it ; say your authority is an officer in that fleet, but give not his name but to your intimate friends.<sup>1</sup>

Yours, &c.,  
P. BEAVER.

<sup>1</sup> Beaver's account of this most serious incident in our history and of the way in which the whole matter was trifled with and nursed to its dangerous height, should be compared with Rear-Admiral Philip Patton's *Account of the Mutinies at Spithead and St. Helen's in April and May, 1797*. There are many other accounts, but none of anything like equal importance.

8. *THE SAME TO THE SAME*

Monarch, Spithead, 6 p.m. 20th April, 1797.

My dear Kate,—The concessions offered yesterday by admiralty were rejected by the seamen. To-day the admirals and captains of the fleet were assembled to assist the board, which ought to have been the case before. They, I believe, have been obliged to make use of some strong expressions towards Lord Spencer to convince him of the danger, which he did not seem to comprehend, and of the absurdity of the conduct of that board since it had sat here, which had only made things worse. They have now come to their final determination, which I suppose concedes everything, which it is thought will be satisfactory; but not being able to make out a sufficient number to send one to every ship to-night, it will be to-morrow before the seamen can receive it, when I trust everything will again go on as usual.

The seamen still continue to conduct themselves incredibly well, performing the usual duties of the ship with alacrity, and behaving towards their officers with the greatest respect. I had always great respect for an English seaman; I like the character now better than ever. In infinite hurry,

Yours affectionately,

P. BEAVER.

9. *LORD NELSON TO CAPTAIN J. N. MORRIS,  
(PHAETON)*

Palermo, 17th December, 1799.

Dear Sir,—By General Acton's note I have some hopes of getting you pratique. As my wish is



to be, on every account, useful to you, both for honour and profit, my intention is to get you out of the Mediterranean and give Captain Blackwood<sup>1</sup> to be with you, and only wish you may meet four of the best frigates out of Spain. In going down the Mediterranean, you must land the two Turkish officers<sup>2</sup> at Tunis and Algiers, but probably that service will not keep you two days longer on your passage to Gibraltar, and you will be there as soon as the Penelope, who calls at Mahon for a foreyard. But as I hope to get you pratique I will tell you more of my intentions. In the meantime, believe me your sincere humble servant,

BRONTE NELSON.

We long to have the Turks on shore to give them a dinner. Remember me to them if you can make them understand.

10. *LETTERS FROM LORD NELSON TO SIR  
THOMAS TROUBRIDGE*

*3rd March.* P.M. 1. Weighed and made sail out of Spithead to the eastward. . . .

*4th March.* P.M. 2.30. Shortened sail and came to with BB. in the Downs. . . . Saluted Admiral Lutwidge with 17 guns, which was answered with 15. Sailed hence H.M. ships Warrior and Defence. The Warrior got aground on the Goodwin Sands, having made her signal in standing into danger, with two guns. Sent boats to her assistance. At 11 the Warrior was hove into 7½ fm. A.M. Came on board James Field and John Lazenby, pilots, and took charge of the ship for Yarmouth Roads. 10.30. Weighed and made sail out of the Downs.—*St. George's Log.*

<sup>1</sup> See Nicolas, iv. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 148-9.

St. George [Downs] : 4th March, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—You will see by my public letter the cause of the Warrior's going on shore. We have a damned stupid dog on board, and as obstinate as the devil. He objects to having assistance to carry this ship through the Gull, although the moment before he complained that having been up all night he could not stay up this night, therefore wanted another pilot. However, I shall have a sharp eye on him. We shall weigh about 11 o'clock. I wrote you last night, but my letter was too late. Ever yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Lieutenant Layman was very active last night.<sup>1</sup>

11.

7th March. P.M. 4. Shortened sail and saluted H.M. ship Ardent, Sir Hyde Parker, with 17 guns, which was answered with 15. 5. Shortened sail and came to with BB. in Yarmouth Roads.—*St. George's Log.*

[St. George, Yarmouth Roads, 7th March.]

Aye, my dear Troubridge, had you been here to-day you would have thought, had the pilots arrived a fortnight hence, they would have been time enough. Fame says we are to sail the 20th, and I believe it, unless you pack us off. I was in hopes that Sir Hyde would have had a degree of confidence, but no appearance of it. I know he has from Nepean the plan of the fortifications of the New Islands off Copenhagen and the intended station of some Danish ship. I have, be assured, no other desire of knowing anything than that I may the

<sup>1</sup> In assisting the Warrior. It must be remembered that, in a ship's log of this time, p.m. was dated a day in advance of civil time; the Warrior got ashore on the afternoon of the 3rd.

better execute the service; but I have no right to know; and do not say a word of it to Lord St. Vincent, for he may think me very impertinent in endeavouring to dive into the plans of my commander-in-chief; but, the water being clear, I can see the bottom with half an eye. I begged Domett<sup>1</sup> only to use the *St. George*, and we would do anything. The *Squirrel* will be refitted in two hours to-morrow from a list of complaints of two sides of paper. The gun brigs are in wretched order, but they will get on. Poor Domett seemed in a pack of troubles. Get rid of us, my dear friend, and we shall not be tempted to lay abed till 11 o'clock. If the earl would give Josiah a ship in greater forwardness, and send him abroad, it would be an act of kindness. I feel all your kindness, but perhaps I am now unfit to command, my only ambition is to obey. I have no wish ungratified in the service—so you may say; but I told you I was unhappy.

Sunday Morning [8th March].

Since the departure of Lieutenant Yule<sup>2</sup> for *Nisbet's* ship, neither Hardy or myself can put our finger on a good lieutenant, but Hardy has just recollected one, the present first lieutenant of the *Aurora*, Richard Hockie. If he is still in her, chooses to come here, and the admiralty to appoint him, he can take a passage, chest and bedding, in either *Elephant* or *Edgar* if she is still at Spithead. You are right, my dear Troubridge, in desiring me not to write

<sup>1</sup> William Domett, Hood's signal lieutenant on 12th April, 1782, was a captain of 9th September, 1782. From 1793 to 1800 he was flag captain to Sir Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport, and was now captain of the fleet. He afterwards held the same post under Cornwallis, off Brest. He died, an admiral and G.C.B., in 1828.

<sup>2</sup> Discharged March 2, to *Thalia*. Hockie did not join the *St. George*, but Yule returned to her on May 24.

such letters to the earl. Why should I? as my own unhappiness concerns no one but myself, it shall remain fixed in my own breast; but believe me, I shall ever be your faithful

NELSON AND BRONTE.

12.

St. George, 10th March, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—If a lord of the admiralty<sup>1</sup>—and such a lord—had not told me that the Baltic fleet had orders to put to sea, I would not have believed it; and, forgive me, I even think seriously that, by some accident, they have not arrived, for there is not the least appearance of going to sea.<sup>2</sup> Probably you will see Mr. Davison.<sup>3</sup> I know, my dear Troubridge, how angry the earl would be if he knew I, as second in command, was to venture to give an opinion, because I know his opinion on officers writing to the admiralty. But what I say is in the mouth of all the old market-women at Yarmouth. The London has only been arrived eighteen hours,<sup>4</sup> and, as yet, there has not been time to shift the flag. This is the rate we

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of St. Vincent.

<sup>2</sup> On March 7, Nelson wrote to Lady Hamilton: 'I hope Sir Hyde will be pushed on to sail. The sooner we go, the less resistance, and, O Heavens grant it! the sooner I, your Nelson, will return to his own dear, good, only friend.' And again, on the 10th: 'The commander-in-chief has his orders, but I dare say it will be two or three days before he is off. I long to go that I may the sooner return.' (Alfred Morrison's *Hamilton and Nelson Papers*, ii. 127.)

<sup>3</sup> Davison had been on a visit to him at Yarmouth, and seems to have left him on the 9th.

<sup>4</sup> Nelson was, in this, petulantly hypercritical, and by no means accurate. By the London's log it appears that she anchored in Yarmouth Roads at 4.30 p.m. on the 10th [*i.e.* 9th], and that Sir Hyde Parker's flag was hoisted on board the next morning at 8 a.m.

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Baltic gents go at. Consider how nice it must be laying abed with a young wife,<sup>1</sup> compared to a damned raw cold wind. But, my dear friend, pack us off. I am interested, as I want to return. Ever yours affectionately,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Flag shifted ; London moving into a more commodious berth. The lady cannot go on board this nasty weather, but it will probably be better in a few days. If we don't go before the debate comes on about the defences, I never expect to go. In that case I shall go to London, for I hate Yarmouth and idleness. God bless you.

Hardy has just told me that we are to sail on Friday.<sup>2</sup> Captain Otway<sup>3</sup> wants the admiral to wait a day or two longer, as the paint will harden. It came from a mid of the London, who must know. Our old messmate,<sup>4</sup> Bertie, desires me to make his kind regards.

St. George, 11th March, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—It is not that I care what support I may have as far as relates to myself, but the *glorious* support I am to have marks *me* ; but let jealousy, cabal, and art conspire to do their worst, the St. George is and shall be fit for battle. I will trust to myself alone, and Hardy will support me. Far, far, very far from good health, this conduct will and shall rouse me for the moment, but we cannot get off. My information is, I dare say, better than yours. The London was unmoored when the

<sup>1</sup> Sir Hyde had married, for the second time, on 23rd December, 1800.

<sup>2</sup> The 13th. Actually the fleet sailed on the 12th.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Waller Otway, captain of the London. He died, an admiral and G.C.B., in 1846.

<sup>4</sup> In the Seahorse. He was at this time captain of the Ardent. He died, a vice-admiral, in 1825.

signal was made to prepare for sea, but now she is safely moored. I shall trouble you to forward any letters to me and from me to my friends, and ever believe me your most affectionate

NELSON AND BRONTE.

You will make Josiah very happy by getting him a ship and to go abroad. Hardy has been on board of Domett, who told Hardy to tell me he did not form the order of battle. By that, he sees as I do. Captain Otway has not been on board all yesterday or to-day. Domett hopes to sail to-morrow.

13.

St. George, 10 o'clock, 11th March, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—The signal is made to prepare to unmoor at 12 o'clock, but I think, the wind being at SSE and very dirty, that our chief may defer it. If it rains a little harder the wind will fly to the westward. Now we can have no desire for staying, for her ladyship is gone, and the ball for Friday night knocked up by your and the earl's unpoliteness to send gentlemen to sea instead of dancing with nice white gloves. I will only say as yet I know not that we are even going to Baltic except from newspapers, and at sea I cannot go out of my ship but with serious inconvenience. I could say much, but patience. I shall knock down my bulkheads throughout the ship, and then, let what will happen, the St. George—she has only to trust to herself—will be prepared. Make my best regards to the earl, and believe me ever your affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Every day and hour shows me Hardy's worth. Captain Thesiger is not so active as Parker.

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## 14.

St. George, 13th March, 1801.  
 Naze of Norway,  
 NE by Compass, 91 lgs. at noon.

My dear Troubridge,—When I receive a message from Domett both by Hardy and Murray, there can be no reason why I may not tell it. 'Tell Lord Nelson that the present composition of the van is not my arrangement. I had placed Foley<sup>1</sup> and Fremantle<sup>2</sup> instead of a 64 and 50, but Sir H. run his pen through them and placed them as they stand; that when I said, "Sir H., will two 64s and a 50 do well together?" his answer was, "Well, put the Zealous between them." ' You may make your comments. I feel mine. It was never my desire to serve under this man. He approved and seemed more desirous of it than myself, but I saw it the first moment, and all the fleet see it. George Murray, I have no doubt, will support me, and the St. George shall do her duty. To tell me to serve on in this way, is to laugh at me and to think me a greater fool than I am. If this goes on, I hope to be allowed to return the moment the fighting business is over.

16th March.—I am yet all in the dark, and am not sure we are bound to the Baltic. Reports say (and I only make my remarks from reports) that we are to anchor this side Kronborg to give time for negotiation. I earnestly hope this is not true, for I wish for peace with Denmark, and therefore am clearly of opinion that to show our fleet off Copenhagen would, if in the least wavering, almost ensure it, for I think that the Danish minister would be a hardy man to put his name to a paper which in a few minutes would, I trust, involve his master's navy,

<sup>1</sup> The Zealous, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Ganges, 74.

and I hope his capital, in flames. But as I am not in the *secret*, and feel I have a right to speak out, not in the fleet certainly, but in England and to England, my ideas are to get up the Cattegat as soon as possible (we are now standing on a wind at WSW, moderate weather, off the Naze), to send a flag of truce, if such is necessary, to Kronborg to say that I should pass the Castle, and that if they did not fire at me I should not at them. The despatches, if any, for our minister at Copenhagen at the same time to be sent. I should certainly pass the Castle whether they fired or not, and send the same message to Copenhagen till negotiation was over. Being off that city, I could prevent all additional preparation from being carried on or any more gunboats, &c., placed outside, whilst I should prepare everything, and the moment the Danish minister said war, he should have enough of it, but he would say peace, and save his honour with his new friends. Thus we should have peace with Denmark to a certainty either by fair or foul means, but I may be all wrong and the measures pursuing much better. I wish they may, but I doubt. Bold measures from ministers and speedily executed meet my ideas. If you were here just to look at us! I had heard of the manœuvres off Ushant, but ours beat all ever seen. Would it were all over! I am really sick of it. With my kind respects to the earl, believe me ever your affectionate and faithful

NELSON AND BRONTE.

17th March, 1801.

15.

St. George, 20th March, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—It being moderate I got on board the London yesterday for an hour, for



whatever inattentions may be shown me, nothing of respect shall be wanting on mine. I was glad to find that he was determined to pass Kronborg and to go off Copenhagen in order to give weight to our negotiator, and I believe this conduct will give us peace with Denmark. Sir Hyde told me, on my anxiety for going forward with all expedition, that we were to go no further without fresh orders. I hope this is all right, but I am sorry, as I wish to get to Reval before the departure of the fleet. We should recollect it is only twenty hours' sail from Cronstadt, and that the day the ice is open they sail.

I give you 10,000 thanks for your kind letters. I shall try and persevere this expedition, and further it is useless to look. I suppose we shall anchor this evening about 8 o'clock, between the Koll and Kronborg, not only to prepare for battle, for no signal is yet made, although I believe several have followed my example. I have not had a bulk head in the ship since last Saturday. It is not so much their being in the way, as to prepare people's minds that we are going at it, and that they should have no other thought but how they may best annoy their enemies. Every letter of yours is in the *fire*, and I shall, for no good but much harm might arise from their falling into improper hands. What a mischief that young ——<sup>1</sup> must be, but I dare say it is only an idle curiosity and not a desire to steal. I hope Bay would be a good berth for him. Both I and myself rejoice that Parker acquits himself so well. I hope he will get the gold chain and make a first-rate.

When the signal is just made to prepare for battle, many of our ships may amuse themselves at quarters, and have nothing to

<sup>1</sup> Name illegible.

do. The wind is getting directly contrary, at SSW.

May God send us success, is the fervent prayer of your most affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

The Koll distant 5 leagues.

I beg my best regards to the earl. Living or dead, pray send my letters as directed. 9 o'clock. wind at South.

Kronborg distant 18 miles.

16.

21st March, Noon.

We anchored last night. It blew fresh all night, and this morning only 38 sail out of 58 were with us. Bellona and Russell missing; wind just getting to WSW. Signal to prepare to weigh. Much snow and ice about our rigging. I find it very sharp. I suppose we shall anchor in the passage, and in the night collect our ships. I shall not close my letter till then.

17.

23rd March, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—As I hear the Danes will listen to no terms, I have only to regret our loss of time. Till our arrival here we have had only one day's foul wind. Our small craft are behind—there is no activity. Now we have only to fight, and I trust we shall do honour to our country. With my best regards to the earl, believe me ever

Your affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

We anchored off the Koll the 20th, 1801. Since then, the wind has been foul. The commander-in-chief has just sent for me, and shall have my firm

support, and my honest opinion, if he condescends to ask it. The wind will be at West or NW tomorrow.

## 18.

Elephant, 29th March, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—You will, I have no doubt, be very much surprised by the account given by Mr. Vansittart, and I hope he has fully stated the conversation and language I held to Sir Hyde Parker, which I believe—for I do not know the contents of Sir Hyde's letters except the last—completely altered his opinion, or rather the opinion of Captain Domett; for let me do justice, and if I speak on such a delicate subject, that it may be as clear as it is true. That being the case, I do say that from all I have heard, that Sir Hyde never would have thought of not passing the Sound if Domett had not seen great difficulty and danger in the passage, and no possible good. Far, very far be it from me to detract from the very high character of Captain Domett: his bravery, his abilities in the conduct of a fleet are, I hear (for I never served with him), of the very highest class; but perhaps they are calculated for the fleet off Ushant; not, clearly, in my judgment, for a situation such as Sir Hyde Parker's, where the spur of the moment must call forth the clearest decision and the most active conduct. On occasions we must sometimes have a regular confusion, and that apparent confusion must be the most regular method which could be pursued on the occasion. To this service (with all respect for Domett) I cannot yet bring myself to think Domett is equal, and so much was working in my mind that I would not trust myself, after I had seen Sir Hyde the day Mr. Vansittart [left], to write the scrape of a pen. My last line to you before I left the *St. George* was, if you

recollect, 'Now we are going to fight, I suppose I am to be consulted.' Little could I think it was to converse on not fighting. I feel happy I had so much command of myself, for I should have let out what you might have been sorry to see, especially fancying I had been, to say no worse, very unkindly treated by Sir Hyde; that is, with a degree of haughtiness which my spirit could not bear. However, I have now every reason to believe that Sir H. has found it is not necessary to be high to me, and that I have his real honour at heart, and in having that, I have the honour of my country. His conduct is certainly the very reverse to what it was. God knows I wish Sir Hyde could perform such services that he might receive more honours and rewards than any admiral.

19.

30th March, 6 o'clock in the morning.

We are now standing for Kronborg: the van is formed in a compact line, and old Stricker, for that is the governor's name, had better take care we do not strike his head off. I hope we shall mend on board the London, but I now pity both Sir Hyde and Domett; they both, I fancy, wish themselves elsewhere. You may depend on every exertion of mine to keep up harmony. For the rest, the spirit of this fleet will make all difficulty from enemies appear as nothing. I do not think I ever saw more zeal and desire to distinguish themselves in my life. I have much to tell you if ever we meet. With kindest regards to the earl, believe me

Ever your affectionate

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Foley desires his best regards to you. Respects to the earl and Markham.

20.

4th April, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—The job is done, and the State of Denmark is convinced we can fight a little ; more distinguished bravery never was shown. Yesterday I was closeted two hours with the Prince Royal, and he allowed me to speak my mind freely, and I believe I told him such truths as seldom reach the ears of princes. H.R.H. seemed much affected, and I am satisfied it is only fear of Russia and other powers that prevents the renunciation of his alliance with Russia and Sweden. However, he is to send off some proposition to Sir Hyde Parker, but I have not much hopes. My reception was too flattering, and landing at Portsmouth or Yarmouth could not have exceeded the blessings of the people ; even the palace and stairs were crowded, and huzzas, which could not have been very grateful to royal ears. I am, my dear Troubridge, very awkwardly placed respecting the promotion. My duty pointed out the promotion of the first lieutenant of the Elephant, and all my own children are neglected. I should hope that the admiralty, if they promote the first lieutenants of the ships engaged, will consider that Lord Nelson's recommendation may have some little weight. Mr. Bolton and Mr. Lyne it is my wish to have promoted. I only hope that I may have provisional leave to return home, for neither my health or spirits can stand the hard fag of body and mind I have endured since the 24th of last month. Pray send my letters as directed, and believe me

Ever your attached and affectionate friend,  
NELSON AND BRONTE.

Bertie and Murray are perfectly well ; *no* black sheep, thank God. Captain Thesiger came on

board of me during the battle, and I sent him on shore with a flag of truce, and gave him charge of the prizes in the first instance. Will he be made post?

21.

9th April, 10 o'clock at night.

My dear Troubridge,—I have only a moment to write my letters, as Colonel Stewart goes off at 4 o'clock in the morning. I am in a fright at the decision about the ministers' thought of this armistice. Be it good or bad, it is my own; therefore, if blamable, let me be the only person censured. I shall certainly give up instantly. I believe no person can arrive from this fleet who will not tell you that mine has not been quite a life of inactivity since the 23rd. Foley and Murray's ships, and indeed all, are perfection again. I am trying to get over the grounds, but Sir Hyde is slow, and I am afraid the Reval fleet will slip through our fingers. Why we are not long since at Reval is past my comprehension. Pray send my letters, and I have, my dear friend, a thousand thanks for your care of those sent me; they are my only comfort. Mr. Layman is really an acquisition when kept within bounds.—Ever, my dear Troubridge, your affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Your son was well at 6 o'clock.

22.

12th April, 1801.

Ah, my dear Troubridge, the wind is now at the same point it was when I carried my division about the Middle, and all our 74s and 64s ought this day to be over the Grounds, but I am fretting to death.

We had a report yesterday that the Swedish fleet were above the Grounds, but nothing can rouse our unaccountable lethargy. I hope from my heart that my leave is coming out, and another admiral, if it is necessary, in my place, for, my dear friend, I am miserable myself at being useless to our country.

## 23.

Elephant, 20th April.  
East of Børnholm, 7 or 8 leagues.

My dear Troubridge,—As Sir Hyde may probably send something to Copenhagen to keep up our communication with England, and to know what is passing in the world, I send you a line which probably will be read, and therefore I shall not enter into the thousand things I could say in case the war in the Baltic goes on, to which, although I shall only be listener, yet from my heart shall I wish as much brilliant success as ever graced the arms of England, nor can anything prevent it that I can see. The St. George not being able to get over the Grounds, on the 14th Sir Hyde sent me word that the Swedish fleet was at sea, consisting of ten sail of the line, making fourteen sail in the whole. You will believe that I came up 7 or 8 leagues in a bitter cold night, and Foley was kind enough to receive me in the Elephant—for this I feel much obliged to Sir Hyde, for to have been left behind in the expectation of an action would have been worse than death. I hope that the first vessel will bring my leave of absence, either from the board or from the first lord. If not, I shall make my application to Sir Hyde Parker, for longer I cannot stay, and if I could tell you all which is passing in my mind, I am sure you and all good men would approve. We saw the Swedes yesterday

very comfortable in Carlsrona, eight sail of the line and two frigates; whether they had more at sea is a matter of doubt. I believe not, for where should they send them? The Cattagat I should suppose in the summer, if this northern war goes on, will be impassable for Swede craft. It will require a ship of the line, a frigate, and some good sloops to keep the Swedish flotilla and frigates in Gottenburg in check. May God bless you, my dear Troubridge, and believe me for ever your most affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I beg my kindest respects to Lord St. Vincent, Nepean, &c. Foley desires his kind regards to you, the earl, and Markham. Pray send the enclosed.

24.

St. George, 23rd April.  
Off Moen Island, near Amager.

My dear Troubridge,—Pray send the enclosed. I am longing to hear from England; not a scrap since the 5th. I could tell you such things that you would go quite mad. As for me, I am only half, but cannot sleep—you may fancy anything. Send for us all home; at all events, for your old and faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

In fourteen days from this date I hope to shake hands with you. Hardy desires his regards. Best compliments to the earl.



## 25. NELSON TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY

St. George, Kiöge Bay,  
25th April, 1801.

Sir,—From my state of health and other serious considerations, I have to request that you will be pleased to move my lords commissioners of the admiralty that I may be permitted to return to England and to go on shore for the purpose of re-establishing my health, and to enable me to attend to those affairs which require my personal attendance. I have the honour to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Evan Nepean, Esqr.

## 26. NELSON TO TROUBRIDGE

St. George, 27th April, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—Although I know that Captain Nisbet does not care if I was dead and damned, yet I cannot but be sorry that he is not to have the *Thalia* or some other good ship. His failings I know very well, but as I have the testimony of Duckworth and Inglefield of his improved conduct as an officer, I care not what Lieutenant Colquitt may say. His mother wrote me a threatening letter that if I did not go directly and get her son made a captain, that she would not only ruin Nisbet, but try and injure me all in her power; and I am sorry to say that Commissioner Coffin is at the bottom of it, and gave to her a private letter of mine to her,<sup>1</sup> in which I said of Nisbet what I thought, and wished naturally to try and

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. ; apparently a slip of the pen for 'him.'

mend his conduct by telling him. Thus you will see, and I wish Lord St. Vincent to see it too, that it is not love for the service but hatred to Captain Nisbet for removing Mr. Colquitt from the ship, and to try, by alarming me, to frighten me to recommend her son. I therefore hope that a person who I never injured, but who has done everything to injure me, and by *threatening* letters to make me do an act, will never be employed or promoted by the present board of admiralty. The motives must strike you and the earl most forcibly, and will point out what is proper to be done. I am anxiously looking for answers to letters by the Cruizer, when, if the fleet do not go home immediately, I shall go home in the *Blanche*.—With kind respects to the earl, believe me, ever your affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

27.

St. George, Kiöge Bay,  
28th April, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—You may be useful to my friends, and those who have a fair and honourable claim for my interest to get them promoted, and I feel confident that you will. Most probably I shall never have the power myself, or be in any situation to be useful to either any of your or the earl's friends. Last night's attack almost did me up, and I can hardly tell how I feel to-day. I have this day wrote to Sir Hyde Parker. Whatever has again brought on my old complaint I cannot tell; the two last I had was going down to Plymouth with my brother, and a little one in Yarmouth Roads. Lieutenants Bolton, Lyne, and Langford are our old Mediterranean friends; the two first, I trust, will be made by the admiralty; the last was

with me in the action on board the Elephant, and, had I followed the plan of my commander-in-chief, I should have named him ; but I could not, unfortunately for Mr. Langford, bring myself to do an act of injustice. You must recollect him—Lord St. Vincent placed him with Niza ; he has no interest, and is as good an officer and a man as ever lived. These are my three first, and were with us in the Mediterranean. All the others are really good, and if I ever serve again, will most assuredly be with me.—Ever, my dear Troubridge, your affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

28.

St. George, 2nd May, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—If I had been strong enough, I should have set out for England over land, but Sir Hyde sends me word that the Blanche shall go as soon as the Cruizer arrives. I believe one thing is pretty certain, that, if I do not get from here in a very short time, that I shall remain for ever. I am dreadfully pulled down. May God bless you, and believe me ever yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I beg my best respects to the earl.

29.

7th May, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—The Cruizer arrived last night, and brought me yours of the 23rd. I hope to meet Lord St. Helens in Russia, if it please God I live to get there, which I assure you is matter of doubt, for my night sweats and cough are much against me. You may believe that nothing could have been more gratifying under good health than

this command,<sup>1</sup> where I find everybody devoted and kind to me in the extreme. Had it been given to me at first, good to myself and the cause might have arisen, but it's now too late. Quiet I must have to have a chance of restoration to my health, but I dare say I have tormented you so much on this subject that you say, 'Damn him, I wish he was dead, and not plaguing me this way'—therefore, I never shall mention to you one more word on the subject. I hope the next commander will be as strong as a horse. However, I wish you health and many years of it, and ever believe me your affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Tom<sup>2</sup> is well.

30.

8th May, 1801, 2 p.m.

My dear Troubridge,—Captain Nowell is come out to supersede Bligh, who is gone home in the *Monarch*, having changed with Captain Birchall. I have not returned Captain Birchall to his Harpy, as I believe his confirmed post will come out in due time. As yet I have heard nothing of promotion, but I trust it will arrive before my departure. Pray send the enclosed. I am sending to Rostock to enquire the prices of beef and bread. We have, and shall be, I dare say, miserably cheated.

Ever yours faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Foul wind.

<sup>1</sup> The recall of Sir Hyde Parker, and the appointment of Lord Nelson as commander-in-chief, had arrived by this vessel.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Thomas Troubridge, only son of Sir Thomas Troubridge, was serving on board Nelson's ship as midshipman.

## 31.

St. George, 17th May, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—I left Reval this morning. I believe the ministers thought with eleven ships I should run away with their miserable fleet of 43 sail of the line, including 5 first-rates. I expect to meet Murray *en route*, as he was directed to join me when relieved by Rear-Admiral Totty. If we had been at war with Russia (and I do not find we are at peace with her), till the 3rd May nothing could have saved the Reval fleet; and as they now lay, if our ministers do not show by their conduct that we are coming, we can attack them before they knew we were in the Gulf of Finland. I hope to meet a new admiral when I see Bornholm. You will see our state of bread. The Russians wanted to cheat us, but we did not stay long enough. Pray send the enclosed. Expecting to shake hands with you in fourteen days from this day, I shall only say with truth that I am your most faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

## 32.

St. George, 27th May, 1801.

My dear Troubridge,—I hope all will end [to] the advantage of our country in the Baltic; the raising of the embargo must give pleasure in England. Pray forward the enclosed. I hope my successor is near at hand.—Ever your faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

I am forced to pay as much again as I ought.

33.

My dear Troubridge,—However flattering the honour done me by the admiralty is, yet I must be sorry to tell you that it is a good doctor enough to save my life [that I need], therefore I have begged Lord St. Vincent to send some person here to take the command. I shall be in Russia in three days if Sir Hyde was gone, and something must soon be settled between the new emperor and myself. I am seriously ill, I can scarce hold a pen, but ever your affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

34.

*2nd June.*—P.M. 2.30. Fired a royal salute in honour of his Royal Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg, visiting the commander-in-chief. A.M. 3.30. Weighed and made sail.—*St. George's Log.*

[St. George, Rostock, 1st June], 6 p.m.

My dear Troubridge,—The Duke of Mecklenburg, the queen's brother, has been aboard this day; we gave him royal honours, and I hope and believe from Lord Henry Paulet's account that his Highness is gone away content. At daylight I sail for Kiöge Bay, expecting to find there a new admiral. Pray send the enclosed and believe me ever your affectionate

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Such iniquity, I fear, has been going on in Denmark that the Victualling must look out before they pay the horrid bills.

## 35. LORD NELSON TO MR. JOHN SCOTT

[Orders in Council, vol. 65. Copy.]

Victory, 17th August, 1805.

Dear Sir,—I cannot allow myself to part from you even (as I hope) for a very short time, without giving you the assurance of my sincere esteem and regard, and to say that, as a secretary, for activity, punctuality, and regularity, I believe your superior is not to be met with, and, as a gentleman, that your whole conduct has been most exemplary during the whole time you have been with me. Wishing you health and every felicity, believe me always, my dear sir, your obliged and sincere friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

## 36. GENERAL MEMO.

In case of coming to action with the enemy by night, the ships of the fleet are to be distinguished by four lights in a horizontal direction, eight feet apart, hoisted at the mizen peak. You are to provide a staff twenty-four feet long.

Given on board the Victory at sea, the  
26th day of September, 1805.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

## 37. CAPTAIN G. DUFF TO CAPTAIN J. N. MORRIS

Mars, 5th October, 1805.

Dear Sir,—I here send you a copy of my orders from Lord Nelson. It is also his lordship's particular desire that we on no account run the risk of parting from the fleet. When signals are made at a

distance I wish the top-gallant sail to be furled, so that we can make them better out.

I am, dear sir, yours truly,

GEO. DUFF.

38. LORD NELSON TO CAPTAIN DUFF<sup>1</sup>

Victory, 4th October, 1805.

Sir,—As the enemy's fleet may be hourly expected to put to sea from Cadiz, I have to desire that you will keep, with the Mars, Defence, and Colossus, from three to four leagues between the fleet and Cadiz, in order that I may get the information from the frigates stationed off that port as expeditiously as possible. Distant signals to be used when flags, from the state of the weather, may not readily be distinguished in their colours.

If the enemy are out or coming out, fire guns by day or night, in order to draw my attention. In thick weather, the ships to close within signal of the Victory; one of the ships to be placed to windward or rather to the eastward of [the] other two, to extend the distance of seeing; and I have desired Captain Blackwood to throw a frigate to the westward of Cadiz for the purpose of easy and early communication.

I am, sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

39. MEMO.

Mars, 5th October, 1805.

As a ship will be on the look [out] every day, I wish the one whose turn it is to keep about a mile

<sup>1</sup> Copy in Duff's writing: it is printed in Nicolas, vii. 70.



to the eastward of us (or between us and Cadiz) during the night, ready to make sail in the morning, but not until the signal is made for it; and when No. 524 is shown in the evening, it is intended for that purpose.

GEO. DUFF.

40. LORD NELSON TO SIMON TAYLOR.<sup>1</sup>

Victory, off Martinique, 11th June, 1805.

My dear Sir,—I was in a thousand cares for Jamaica, for that is a blow which Bonaparte would be happy to give us. I had no hesitation in forming my judgment, and I flew to the West Indies without any orders, but I think the Ministry cannot be displeased. Information at Barbadoes from St. Lucia told us that the enemy's squadron had sailed with 5,000 troops on the 28th May, and were seen standing to the southward; therefore Tobago, Trinidad, or Grenada was supposed their object. I went to those islands, but now find that the whole was a fabrication, for that the enemy did not leave Fort Royal till the night of the 5th of June; on the 6th were under Dominica; on the 7th under Guadeloupe, standing to the northward, supposed either to try or carry Antigua, or on trying to escape from me. The Cartagena squadron was at sea, but returned on hearing I was close to them; they could have no troops on board which ought to make my Jamaica friends alarmed. When I am satisfied they are on their return after sending some of the Spanish ships to the Havana, I shall push hard to get off the Straits' mouth before them, and kind Providence may some happy day bless my endeavours to serve the public, of which the

<sup>1</sup> A mangled and misdated fragment of this letter is in Nicolas, vi. 450-1.

West India colonies form so prominent and interesting a part.

I have ever been and shall die a firm friend to our present colonial system. I was bred, as you know, in the good old school, and taught to appreciate the value of our West India possessions; and neither in the field or in the senate shall their interest be infringed whilst I have an arm to fight in their defence, or a tongue to launch my voice against the damnable and cursed doctrine of Wilberforce and his hypocritical allies; and I hope my berth in heaven will be as exalted as his, who would certainly cause the murder of all our friends and fellow-subjects in the colonies. However, I did not intend to go so far, but the sentiments are full in my heart and the pen would write them.

I shall, as soon as I have done with this fleet, go to England for a few months; and if you have time and inclination, I shall be very glad to hear from you. We are now of thirty years' acquaintance, and as ever, my dear Mr. Taylor,

Your faithful and obliged servant,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To Simon Taylor, Esq., Jamaica.

The Rev. Dr. Scott, rector of St. John's, Jamaica, is a staunch friend of mine; I am very sorry to find he has lost his living by some new law. The Doctor desires his best remembrances and good wishes to you; he is a worthy and good man, and an old friend of mine. If any of my old Jamaica friends are near you, I beg to be kindly remembered to them.

12th June, Antigua.—The combined squadrons passed Antigua on the 8th. I am after them. Jamaica is safe, on which I congratulate you most sincerely.

## 41. THOMAS PIGGOTT TO B. GASKIN

Barbados, 18th June, 1805.

Dear Ben,—I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your kind letter, which came to my hand the 18th of January. I really expected you would have written to me much sooner, but although I had not heard from you I have made frequent inquiry and was always extremely glad to learn that you were perfectly well. Allow me at the same time to assure you that I never had any idea of ascribing to you intentional neglect.

I am much concerned to find by your letter, that you are under the painful necessity of studying a profession for which you entertain so great a dislike. I recollect to have frequently heard you express a desire to enter into Holy Orders, and I did not suppose that your father could possibly have made any reasonable objections to your studying so genteel a profession. I hope, when I have the pleasure of hearing from you again, to find that you are more reconciled and making a rapid progress in the study of the Law, for I am convinced that your eminent abilities will do honour to whatever profession you undertake. I flatter myself that your situation has become more agreeable, and that your acquaintance and visits are more extensive; I fear you have lost a friend in Mr. Pierce, for whose misfortunes I am exceedingly concerned.

It was my intention to have answered your letter much sooner, but the island being threatened with invasion from a cowardly picarooning French squadron containing six sail of the line, four frigates, and two gun-brigs with three thousand troops on board. They held a council of war to windward of

this island, the result of which was that they would go to Martinique and learn the situation of Barbados. In consequence of their hearing there that this was Headquarters, they changed their purpose and proceeded from thence to Dominica, where an hundred and fifty regulars and militia killed and wounded three hundred. These freebooters then demanded a large sum of money, and after they had received it, immediately departed. During the confusion the negroes took every possible advantage of their owners. These pirates went afterwards to Nevis, Montserrat, and St. Kitt's, all of which they laid under contribution. They sailed for San Domingo three days previous to Admiral Cochrane's arrival here, who has gone in pursuit of them. I have to add that much praise is due to our commander-in-chief in this *instance*, who, with the assistance of Major-General Sir William Myers, in a short time put the island in a state of complete defence. From Oistin's Down to Maycock's Point was entirely lined with artillery. His Majesty's troops joined the militia, and our trusty negro-men amounted to near twenty-five thousand, all of which were well accoutred. The negroes were armed with pikes, &c., &c. Major Wilson constructed five furnaces which could be conveyed to any part of the country; and he engaged, if the enemy attacked us, to set their fleet on fire. He directed a tar barrel to be moored off Needham's, and fired a gun charged with red-hot shot from Rickett's Battery, which struck it and set it on fire.

On the 7th March there was a meeting of the Legislature, and while we were sitting an alarm was fired; about half after two the house was adjourned. In returning home, just as I reached Barbados Battery the signal was hoisted for an

enemy. This you may suppose occasioned great consternation, but to our general satisfaction it proved to be a false alarm, and did not keep up more than two hours and a half. On this occasion the behaviour of all ranks of the people was highly commendable. Every man was at his post, and the regiments in the interior that were appointed to defend the sea coast were a great way on their march. The people were fully determined to meet the enemy on their landing, and not to suffer them to advance into the country. You may easily perceive how terribly alarmed the ladies were. I recommended to Mrs. Piggott and my family to retire a little further into the country; and gave charge to some of my best servants to take every care of them, it being entirely out of [my] power at that *crisis* to do so. In my opinion a man cannot die in a more glorious cause than in defence of king, his country, and his family.

I intended to have concluded this to-day, May 16th, but intelligence was received yesterday of sixteen sail of the line and eight frigates arriving at Martinique. In consequence of which I deferred doing so, and, as there is no opportunity of transmitting a letter to you, I shall therefore for the present lay aside my pen and take up my sword. Our fleet was to sail positively on the 18th instant, but this intelligence will of course protract its departure. There is a total stagnation of business, and we are determined to a man to defend our country. We certainly expect an *attack*. General Myers has declared to the governor that he has artillery, &c., sufficient to resist sixty thousand of the enemy. 17th May.—This morning at two o'clock a reinforcement of artillery and five hundred regulars passed by here. On the 18th martial law was proclaimed until 21st. St. James's

regiment has gone to St. Thomas's, to join St. John's, St. George's, St. Joseph's, and St. Thomas's.

Lord Seaforth sent on the 21st instant to allow one-third of each regiment to depart for twenty-four hours and return to duty at the expiration of that time; and said that if they would not accede to this offer he would keep up martial law. The officers as well as the soldiers rejected His Lordship's offer; and he accordingly continued martial law until Saturday, the 25th, *without any authority for doing so*, on which day Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel Williams gave up their commissions, and all the officers serving under them, with a determination not to serve as officers during Lord Seaforth's administration.

Our election took place on 27th May, and we were sworn in on the 29th. After the necessary business of the day was over, we came to a resolution to call upon the governor and demand an explanation of his conduct; but as soon as he heard of our determination, he immediately adjourned the house to the 18th June, and precipitately retired. We however directed our clerk to give over to the clerk of the council our resolutions, to be presented to the governor and council on their first meeting.

Yesterday, 4th June, to our very great satisfaction, Lord Nelson anchored<sup>1</sup> in Carlisle Bay with eleven sail of the line and three frigates, and four sloops; all things were immediately put in motion in order to be ready for embarking, and he sailed the next day for Trinidad, taking with him Admiral Cochrane on board the Northumberland, and Sir Francis Laforey on board the Spartiate. It was reported that the French, with all their

<sup>1</sup> Torn by seal.

force, has gone to take it. By subsequent accounts we find the intelligence which induced our valorous fleet to seek them there to be wholly without foundation; for it is correctly stated that they have not been out of Fort Royal for near three weeks, except a small detachment sent against the Diamond Rock, which was besieged on the 29th May by the following vessels: the Berwick 74, the Pluton 74, Sirène 40, Argus and La Fine 16, and eleven gun-boats, each mounting three heavy pieces of ordnance, with three hundred troops on board. The Rock had been blockaded on the enemy's first arrival in Martinique; and the garrison were in great want of water and ammunition. Supplies had been sent to the Diamond, but through mistake were taken to St. Lucia. Captain Maurice<sup>1</sup> was obliged on the 2nd June to give up this valuable Rock, which he had bravely defended four days, with one hundred and four men, officers included. The French had forty wounded on the Rock, besides those on board ship; Captain Maurice had two killed and one wounded.

Mrs. Piggott and your cousins request to be kindly remembered to you, and believe me, my dear Ben,

Yours truly,  
THOMAS PIGGOTT.

Benjamin Gaskin, Esq., 3 Inner Temple Lane, London.

<sup>1</sup> Commander James Wilkes Maurice. He was tried by court-martial, which highly complimented him on his gallant conduct. He was advanced to post rank in 1809, and in 1811 successfully defended the island of Anholt against the Danes. He died, a retired rear-admiral, in 1846 (see James, *Naval History*, v. 223-6).

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